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EDITORIAL NOTE

As is widely known, Dr. Róheim, a distinguished anthropologist as well as psycho-analyst, has recently carried out a research expedition among native tribes with the object of investigating particularly the psycho-analytical aspects of ethnology. To mark our estimate of the importance of the undertaking as a landmark in the practical application of psycho-analysis, and our sense of the value of Dr. Róheim's work, we have decided to devote a special double number of the JOURNAL to publishing a first record of his observations.

PSYCHO-ANALYSIS OF PRIMITIVE CULTURAL TYPES[1]

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BUDAPEST

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[1] Chaps. I, IX and X have been translated from the German; the rest were written in English.—Ed.

I

INTRODUCTION

Modern ethnology is more and more coming to be a science based not only on work in the study, but on personal observation. Thus a gap had made itself felt in psycho-analytical ethnology, since psycho-analysts had never been in a position to gather ethnological observations in the field. There was, moreover, small prospect that this gap would disappear very soon. It therefore came to me as a great and happy surprise when Princess George of Greece (Marie Bonaparte) made me the proposal, at the beginning of 1928, to finance an expedition among primitive tribes for a period of two to three years. The Princess left the choice of the field to me. After some consideration, I decided in favour of dividing the time at my disposal between two objectives. I definitely wanted to study the Central Australian peoples on the spot, as I looked upon them as the classical representatives of Totemism and the hunting mode of life. Moreover, I had already written about these peoples and was for various reasons disposed to share the view of Frazer and the classical school of English anthropology, who regarded this culture as the most primitive known to us. I might thus have spent the whole of my time in Central Australia, if on the other hand different considerations had not favoured a matrilineal region. For it is gradually coming to be a commonplace in anthropology to say: 'Oh yes, those analysts with their Œdipus complex. But the situation is quite different in a matrilineal, "fatherless" society!' It is not surprising that outsiders should take some such view as this. These opinions on the part of ethnologists or sociologists appear, however, to have gained influence even in psycho-analytical circles, and I am therefore not sorry that I have not confined myself to Australia. Apart from this, I had to consider that it was quite uncertain when an analyst would again have an opportunity of visiting a primitive people. I therefore wanted to guard against the danger of one-sidedness, for an anthropologist, or analyst, who only knew the Australians might readily be tempted to generalize and to judge everything from the *churunga* point of view.

Thus the two main objectives of the expedition came to be: Central Australia and Normanby Island[1] (the most southerly island of the Entrecasteaux group). For certain reasons the Somali were

[1] Ethnographically and politically this region belongs to New Guinea.

added. In the year 1928 there happened to be a fairly large group of Somali in Budapest, and I began to collect their legends in order to get some sort of preparatory practice for my field work.

I left London with my wife at the end of 1928. My wife looked after the taking of photographs and films, and assisted me in many ways. In Aden we broke our journey and spent a month with the Somali in Aden and Djibouti (French Somaliland). At the end of February, 1929, we landed at Adelaide, and were most cordially received by Dr. and Mrs. Basedow and helped with advice for our journey into Central Australia. Such of the Aranda as were left were gathered round the Lutheran Mission in Hermannsburg, as the old hunting territory of the tribe had been wholly occupied by the whites. In addition, some hundred Luritja were assembled there that year, partly owing to the extraordinary drought, partly on account of Government dispositions. We stayed four months in Hermannsburg, where my work was supported in the most thoroughgoing way by the heads of the Mission, Pastor Th. Albrecht and Mr. J. A. Heinrich. From there I succeeded, with the help of Mr. J. Macnamara and Mr. R. Buck, in getting into touch with the desert tribes known to science only by name or not at all (Pitchentara, Pindupi, Yumu, Nambutji, etc.).[2] At the beginning of November we were back in Adelaide, where I began to work up the results of the Australian expedition and to prepare for the journey to New Guinea. In Port Moresby we first of all visited Sir Hubert Murray, the Governor of Papua, and also Dr. W. M. Strong (the Chief Medical Officer) and Mr. F. E. Williams (the Government Anthropologist), who all helped us with advice. We were also accorded active support by the members of the Methodist Mission, particularly Mr. Scriven, Mr. Guy and Mr. Dixon. Among the traders, Mr. J. E. Harrison, who knew the natives and their customs very well, was helpful to me in many ways. We were nine months in Papua, or to be exact, in Sipupu (Normanby Island). In November, 1930, we left Papua and stayed a month at Sydney. From Sydney we proceeded to San Francisco. America provided the last stage of the expedition. We spent two months in the small frontier town of Yuma (border of Arizona, California and Mexico) in order to study the Yuma Indians of the Reservation, and then travelled home *via* New York.

The sketches which now follow were actually written for the

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[2] The *Pitchentara* had been visited before by Dr. Basedow, who has, however, so far only published a few items from his collection of material.

purpose of the lectures which I gave during my return journey. At the University of Chicago I delivered three lectures, a public one and two for smaller groups (professors conversant with analysis, students interested in sociology). At Columbia University I also gave two lectures, one in the Post-Graduate Medical School, and one at the Teachers' College. At New York I furthermore delivered a course of three lectures to the members of the New York Psycho-Analytical Society. The Society likewise arranged for a public lecture at the New York Academy of Medicine. I also gave a lecture at the New York Academy of Science under the auspices of the American Ethnological Society. My first lecture in Europe was to the Paris Psycho-Analytical Society. In Berlin a course was again arranged (Berlin Psycho-Analytical Institute, four lectures). Thereafter I gave three lectures in Budapest, one at the Ethnographical Society, two at the Psycho-Analytical Society.

The series was to be closed by my lecture for the Congress in 1931. 'Super-Ego and Group-Ideal.' [3]

Between New York and Budapest I naturally had many a private conversation with colleagues about the same topics, and I mention here those whose observations have in any way influenced the final shape of the present essays: K. Menninger (Chicago), A. S. Lorand (New York), S. Radó (Berlin), Frau Vilma Kovács and Frau M. Bálint (Budapest).

The paper about the Somali [4] merely shows from what beginnings my method developed. Gradually I came to reach a different interpretation of the tasks and problems of psycho-analytical ethnology, or rather new tasks and problems were added to the familiar old ones. I confess that my views are still in a fluid state and that it is really premature to publish results. On the other hand, however, I did not want to withhold what I know already from the analytical world until I should have worked through the whole of my written notes.

According to my present view, it will be one day possible, on the basis of similar investigations, to set up a psychological classification of mankind. A wide gulf divides the Australian from all other peoples (known to me); only my friends of the Central Australian desert can be described as primitives in the true sense of the word. The most prominent distinguishing marks of this stratum are the absence of the

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[3] Chapter IX.

[4] Chapter X.

latency period, relatively slight depth of repression with rapidly ensuing projection, and total absence of the anal-reactive character-formation. All other 'primitives' whom I know (Somali, Papuo-Melanesians, Yuma Indians) are closer to us psychologically than to the Australians. However, there remain, with regard to these peoples also, two important distinguishing marks: the strength of their narcissism and the absence of the sado-masochistic perversion. Civilization arises from the genito-fugal movement of the libido,[5] i.e. the energy (libido) which is used for cultural purposes must come from somewhere. Its source is direct sexual activity; what civilization gains, it gains at the expense of the woman.[6] From primordial man to the Pitchentara of Lake Amadeus and from these again to the big capitalists of New York, mankind has gone through a long and laborious journey. Now we are interested in ethnology and send out expeditions to try and recover the primitive, at least in the form of travellers' reports. It is too late, what is done cannot be undone, but at the most mitigated.

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[5] G. Róheim: *Animism*, p. 381.

[6] Freud: *Civilization and its Discontents*, 1930, p. 73.

II

PSYCHO-ANALYTIC TECHNIQUE AND FIELD ANTHROPOLOGY [1]

1. Long before I had any opportunity to leave Europe and go into the field, I had published some books and many papers on anthropology. The proverbial man in the street who never hesitates to criticize what he knows nothing about would always remark, ' So your books are about savages? But how can you write about them if you don't know them? ' And then I would hide my resentment under a mask of superiority and say, ' I don't think Maspero has met any of the Pharaohs and yet he could write a history of Egypt! ' Or I might answer, ' Frazer has not done any field work and yet he is the greatest of living anthropologists! '

This might have silenced my opponent, but the fact that I was really a bit angry shows that there was something wrong in my argument. I shall come to the point by and by and show exactly what it was.

2. Since Freud wrote his famous book, *Totem und Tabu*, we who follow in his footsteps have been trying to build up a new science. We sometimes call it psycho-analytical anthropology, but we all believe that it will be the only anthropology of the future. We have explained many aspects of the life and mentality of primitive man and yet neither Freud nor any of his followers—excepting now myself—have ever seen a savage. And many a paper has been published, many a review has been written, on the works of the psycho-analytical school that ended in the wise remark ' but no field anthropologist, you know, would accept that sort of thing '.

3. The average man does not seem to be able to understand that a special qualification is needed for doing psycho-analytical work. A neurologist of the Budapest university once said, ' I don't know why the Freudians think they are the only people who can analyse. Sometimes we give our patients a bromide, sometimes we analyse them, just as the case may be! ' And then I could quote the writings of

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[1] Translations or explanations of native terms are given on their first occurrence, and are repeated once in each paper where this has seemed desirable. For the further convenience of readers, however, a brief glossary of terms which recur several times has been appended at the end of the last paper and appears on p. 222.—ED.

some of our best field workers in anthropology, who will tell you, 'Oh, but I asked the people out there, do you marry your mothers and kill your fathers? They told me I was mad and that, I should think, would put an end to all psycho-analytical speculations!' The man who writes in this style shows that he has not been able to understand what psycho-analysis is driving at. There are of course many degrees in understanding, but I think I may safely say that nobody can fully understand psycho-analysis who has not been analysed himself. Moreover, I may say that in order to do analytic work in field anthropology, the anthropologist ought not only to have been analysed, but must himself have practised clinical analysis at home.

4. Some of you may be under the impression that psycho-analysis has already been applied in anthropological field-work by Professor Malinowski.[2] Although he does not claim to be a psycho-analyst himself, some of his statements are rather misleading. Thus, for instance, he mentions that when he was in the Trobriands and Professor Seligman sent him some of Freud's books to read he set out to *test* the validity of Freud's dream-theory on the Trobrianders. Fancy! Somebody who admits that he has never analysed a dream himself—for the obvious reason that he does not know how to do it—is *testing* Freud's theory! Yet Malinowski's books form the boundary-line between the old and the new type of anthropology. For, although not a psycho-analyst himself, he is influenced by the writings of the psycho-analytical school. He has understood that there is something to study in the individual, and that the *Code Napoléon* is not the French people. Instead of the dry-as-dust anthropology of most of his predecessors, his books show life as it is in a Melanesian community. He at any rate understands that a set of rules is not the life of a people. We must see not the abstract concept of a savage but definite individuals of a primitive community living up to or reacting against the standard of ethics set up by that same community.

5. And it is here that we can draw the boundary-line between what can be done in the study and what can only be done on a basis of personal experience. If you are writing a book on animism, trying to explain it psychologically or even from a diffusionist point of view, you can do this in your study, and do it without having had any experience in field-work. You may, as I have done, arrive at the

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[2] B. Malinowski, *The Sexual Life of Savages in North-Western Melanesia*, London, 1929, p. 325.

conclusion that animism is rooted in castration anxiety, that the soul symbolizes an indestructible phallus, but in doing so you will naturally tend to overlook racial or cultural differences, and you can have no idea what animism means to an individual in a primitive community. Is it more a reaction-formation or a sublimation ? Is it the main outlet for castration anxiety or of minor importance ? Even the best anthropological books will give you no clue to this question. A theory on the origin of the *kula* [3] is one thing ; and the knowledge of what the *kula* means to somebody who is in the *kula*-ring himself is another thing.

The difference between psycho-analytical anthropology in the study and in the field will at once become clear to the psycho-analyst if we say that the study work done in psycho-analytical anthropology is akin to the psycho-analytical study of literature, while field-work must aim at approximating to clinical analysis. In the first case we can do little more than unveil the unconscious contents of the ritual or myth, that is, give a topographical explanation ; in the second we ought to be able to understand the interaction of id, ego and super-ego ; that is, give an explanation in topographical, dynamic and economic terms.

6. Up to the present time very little has been written, even from the purely anthropological point of view, on the technique of field-work in anthropology. The only notable exception is again Malinowski, whose books are well worth reading in this connection. I do not intend to cover the same ground again, as I could only repeat what Malinowski has already said. You must be good friends with the natives, or, to put the same thing in the technical language of psycho-analysis, you must get a *transference.*

The transference, as we all know, is the foundation-stone of every clinical analysis. By a transference we mean a displacement of the original infantile libidinal trends, or rather a partial displacement of these trends, from the father or mother to the person of the analyst. It must be understood from the very beginning that the psycho-analytical investigator is in an analogous position to the analyst. Not only because all human relations are based on transference, i.e. on displaced libidinal trends, but also because he is deliberately ' calling shadows from the misty deep ', i.e. having dreams related to him and

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[3] The ' wealth circle ' ; cf. B. Malinowski, *Argonauts of the Western Pacific*, 1922.

getting the associations to those dreams. For dreams, as we know very well, are the *via regia* to the unconscious, the ferry of Charon that takes us to the nether world.

When the analyst begins to loom conspicuous in the open or in the latent contents of his informant's dreams, he may be sure that he has got a transference, and by analysing the dream he will be able to understand the exact nature of that transference.

In the first week of September, 1930, Doketa, the Christian chief of Loboda, had the following dream :—

'With Gomadobu we went fishing with a hook. We caught a *quadowara* and pulled it out. At Bwaruada we went ashore ; we cut up the fish and it was boiling when the church bells sounded. Mr. Walker said : " Leave your fish, it will wait for you, and go to church first ; then you go back and eat." Then we came back and Gomadobu cut the fish into pieces. I got the trunk and I said : " Give it to our friends." But Gomadobu said : " The trunk is your share ; I give it to you ; our friends will get their share afterwards ".'

Gomadobu is my chief boy and interpreter. He is usually present even now that I speak the language and I frequently turn to him to explain some doubtful point. Therefore Doketa and Gomadobu doing something together in the dream corresponds to myself and Gomadobu doing something together in reality.

Having stayed for some time at the mission house of Bwaruada, I am also present in the dream under the guise of Mr. Walker, the missionary. He had really caught a fish with Gomadobu, and they were preparing to eat it when I called out to Gomadobu and they both left the fish.

Now I tell Doketa that as the person who represents me in the dream does something that is evidently unpleasant to him, he should try and remember when and where I did something that he didn't like.

His answer is characteristic of all his race ; what is evidently an aggression against myself is inverted and turned against his own person.

He tells me that he has been keeping some *oba* (healing magic) back from me. Also everybody said that it would be high time to make Lobeseni's *sagari* (feast). L. is his father-in-law. But he is keeping them back, as he wants the yam from his own gardens for his sister's mourning feast. By the way, this excuse is a very weak one. For his sister's mourning feast he only needs a small quantity of food to return the presents that will be made to him, and he could very well manage

his father-in-law's feast, as he is a real *esa esa* (rich or famous man) of the Duau people. As long as he can, he keeps the healing magic (from me) and the produce of his gardens (from his father-in-law). In the dream this is represented by the opposite ; he generously offers the best part of the fish to his friends.

Self-accusation is followed by a narrative of Gomadobu's evil deeds. Although in my employment, Gomadobu told him not to let me have a certain magic oil, because he, Gomadobu, wanted it for fishing. But he didn't listen to Gomadobu ; and now he has brought a second bamboo tube for Gomadobu. Then he goes on to relate how Gomadobu had been persuading him to do a certain thing which would have been regarded as irregular according to the strict rules of old times.

The oil is what they call a *bona*, a magical bait used to attract either fish or women. His father and Kauanamo used to go and do their evil magic (*barau*) together. Kauanamo is his *wahana* (uncle) and he was his father's *nibana* (cross-cousin). The two *nibanas*, who could again have got their magic from the same man (as one of them would be the son and the other the nephew of the same man), would go together to kill somebody, take the blood vessels out of the corpse and use these for their *bona*. The two people doing the same thing are therefore in the first instance myself and Gomadobu, and in the second instance his father and his uncle. He said it is a pity that his uncle Kauanamo is not present ; he would have liked to tell his *barau* exploits in his presence, so that the old man would have been ashamed and told me more about the art of *barau*. As he has also told Gomadobu's evil deed for the same purpose, it is evident that in the dream 'dual' Gomadobu takes the place of Kauanamo (both being his *wahana*) and I take the place originally allotted to his father. It is important to remember in this connection that my native name is Doketa (Doctor) and I am therefore his *wari-esa* (namesake).

If he had not become a Christian he would have been a great *barau* like his uncle Kauanamo, who is now the *barau karena*, 'trunk of the *barau*', the greatest wizard of the island. Then in all innocence he relates what would have happened if Kauanamo had told us his *barau* art. He would have spat into the air first and that would have been enough to finish me and Gomadobu. We should have been dead, both of us, by the time he began the spell. As it was he himself who wanted to induce Kauanamo to do this, we can now go right back to the unconscious trends of his infancy, when he heard that his father and uncle were doing something mysterious and prohibited at night.

Just as he would like to kill me now, he must have desired to be a great *barau* and kill his father and uncle. But alas! he has not learnt the art, for he is a Christian. In the dream he repeats this renunciation, for he says the trunk of the fish should be given to others! But Gomadobu (Kauanamo) tells him: 'No, this is your share!'

Further association led to the custom of *eliamu*, i.e. two men making friendship by visiting the same girl at night. This is his strongest unconscious phantasy. Instead of Kauanamo it is he, Doketa, who prowls about at night with his father. For a person who goes about at night is either a sorcerer or a man in search of love-affairs. Like myself, who calls him to work instead of eating the fish, his mother used to call out, 'Stop playing, come and work in the garden!' Here we can go one step further. I am identified with himself, his father and his mother, i.e. with the person who does an evil thing (sorcery, amorous adventures) and with the restraining influence. Also we have another phase in the development of the infantile phantasy: he goes to the girls with his father, but his mother stops them both. On the same day he also relates a mourning custom. If a great man, a real *esa esa*, dies, his sister will take off her shirt and dance naked. Only a sister can do it; were any other woman to do a thing like this they would say she was the dead man's lover. The great *esa esa* is of course his father, the paramount chief of Duau. For, in a still earlier form of the infantile phantasy which we are tracing to its roots, it must have been he and his father who go to make love together, i.e. they go to the mother. After having first died for it the great chief is permitted symbolic incest: his sister will dance naked to honour his memory. Another dream of the same man's throws further light on the matter. This was towards the end of my stay and he dreamt that he had come too late to say farewell to me. This had really happened when some time ago a friend of his went to Salamo. He promised to return in a month, but had not kept his promise because his wife was going to be delivered and they were waiting for this. Oh! if he could come with me to the white man's country! I should not forget to call on his daughter Tleboma at Salamo, for Tleboma regards my wife as her mother and myself as her father. Going with me and my wife to the white man's land therefore means helping his father (i.e. me) to have intercourse with his mother (i.e. my wife).[4]

[4] But it also means a desire to replace my wife (his mother) in coitus, because he is angry with his friend for remaining with his wife, instead of returning to him.

The analyst will therefore not be surprised when a man comes and offers him a turtle, but demands an exorbitant price for it, and when he is told that Doketa made the man ask so much for the turtle. The father is not to have the spoils of fishing or, if he gets them, he is to pay the price for the deed, i.e. to go away to die, to be mourned for by the naked sister.

Just as the analyst in clinical analysis will be able through analysing the transference to construe the original infantile libido-situation, the analyst in the field will be in possession of a reliable clue that helps him to understand the original libido-situation and the character of a people.

In Doketa's dream the analyst appears as a condensed representation of father and mother. Lomenaj, another informant, dreams of my leaving him and giving him a present when I go. The present is the exact equivalent of what he got when he left the service of a certain white lady in the Trobriands. He goes on to describe the liberality of the lady and compares it to my own way of treating the natives. Then he tells me that she was also feared by all because of her extraordinary strength. Her hospitality he compares to that of his grandmother, who was never tired of giving things to people who came to see her. She told him to follow her ways in everything, for if he did so, people would always be happy to see him. This is just after his *sagari* and he attributes the success of his feast to the fact that he lived up to the standard which his grandmother had set him.

In this dream therefore I have taken the place of his mother. By doing so I have done what he himself and every Papuan is continually trying to do at their *sagaris*. The *toni-sagari* who distributes the food plays the part of a mother who feeds her children, i.e. becomes a male mother. This is reflected in the dream association that leads to the white woman who is renowned for her strength (male character) and for all the good things she gives away with a free hand (maternal attitude).

Ever since I had begun to understand the nature of the Papuan or rather of the Massim people of Duau island, I have been consciously playing this rôle of the Papuan *esa esa*, i.e. rich or famous man who gives to all and expects nothing in return. Frequently utter strangers will come to me from Ligasiga or Lomitawa and say 'all the white people are bad, you alone are different, a very famous (rich) man'. Although I know full well that a Papuan compliment is not to be taken seriously, yet at the same time dreams of the above type show that for once they really mean what they say.

But one attitude will not do for all areas. In Central Australia among the Aranda and Loritja tribes, society is a male society. The men sitting in a group, relating the deeds of the primeval beings whom they themselves represent on earth, or performing these deeds, acting the parts of the ancestors whose reincarnation they are: this is the typical scene of the Central Australian desert.

In the year 1929, about the beginning of April, old Wapiti, a man who had been a warrior when the whites first came into the country, had the following dream:—

'A *kukurpa* (dog-demon) came quite close to me and embraced me in my sleep; then he put the *nankara* (magical) stone into my body and disappeared'.

This is simply a repetition of the dream he dreamt when he was initiated as a medicine-man. We had been talking about the subject the day before and he told me that a medicine-man was always 'made' by an ancestor of the same totem. Thus he being a member of the Wapiti, i.e. wild yam, totem was 'made' by the ancestral Wapiti whose double he is in the visible world. The ancestral Wapiti thrust a yam (i.e. the totem) under his nail, and the *nankara* stone penetrated through that yam into his body. It spread out, permeated his whole flesh and came out again through his finger-nail. When he woke up he began to talk through his nose. He, i.e. the newly-made medicine-man, would see a stump and might say to that stump, 'Scolding talk, bad word!' thinking the stump was a man and was scolding him. Then one man might be coming and he sees two. As a matter of fact, it was his father who appeared to him after the initiation as two fathers. Before he had the dream he had to eat the wapiti, i.e. his totem, and then Wapiti the ancestral spirit came and inserted the magical stone into his body through the yam. He felt a pain when it entered.

I observe that there is a contradiction between what he told me and the initiation as described in Strehlow's book. For Strehlow tell us that the medicine-man is made by the *erintja* (demon) and he tells me he was made by the ancestral spirit. As he was also Strehlow's main informant on the subject, the contradiction is quite remarkable. He answers that what he has just told me is correct; the information he gave to Strehlow was 'gammon', the sort of thing he would tell a missionary.

It is not difficult to interpret the initiation dream of the medicine-man. We must only remember that Wapiti, the mystical being who

puts the yam into his body, is the same being who procreated him by inserting the yam into his mother's body. In my book on *Australian Totemism* I interpreted this supernatural procreation as a mythical projection of real procreation, deriving its supernatural aspect from the Œdipus attitude. I have since, in the field, found many striking proofs of this view. If, therefore, the spirit Wapiti is the father of the man Wapiti, it is evident that he is doing the same thing to him that he did to his mother, inserting his penis (represented by the *churunga*—the totemic symbol from which children emanate—or by the yam itself as the penis of the yam-man) into his body. This is the explanation of his subsequent vision, the two fathers are his real father and the father who stands for the wish-fulfilment of his inverted Œdipus attitude. But he has also been eating the yam, that is, castrating the father. As an over-compensation of this aggression and a projection of his unconscious homosexuality, two fathers appear on the scene, i.e. one for himself and one for his mother.

There is some difficulty in reconciling what he told me on the previous day and his subsequent dream. For he told me that a medicine-man was not made by the demons, and yet in the dream the dog-demon Kukurpa re-initiates him into the medical art. From other sources, however, I know two essential things. Firstly, that there is a deep-reaching unity between demons and ancestral spirits. Old Wapiti's honour need not be questioned ; he did not lie to Strehlow and he did not lie to me ; he was only regarding the same things from a different point of view. Altinga told me that the ancestral spirits were called demons by women, because they were beings with huge phalli who were always chasing them and trying to have intercourse with them. In this new dream, therefore, the dog-demon has replaced the father-imago of the first dream. When I asked him what the Kukurpa looked like, he said it was just like the fox-terrier that had followed me when I came to his wurley (bush hut) the evening before. Also it was like the dog of his sister's husband, i.e. a natural substitute for his father. Moreover, this man belongs to the same totem as Wapiti's brother. I am being drawn into the family circle and my dog is the new dream-disguise for his father's penis. What I have done to become his father is simple enough. We have been sitting down in a group, excluding the women, and talking about the glorious days of old, and this sublimated homosexual relation between father and son is the very basis of Central Australian society. A Luritja is not like a Papuan who will praise you face to face. Wapiti, too, had some

kind words to give me, but he did not praise me to my face. It was from others that I heard that the old man told them that I was very learned in the tribal lore. Of course, with the books of Spencer and Strehlow to help me, I could often astonish him with my knowledge of Aranda or Luritja theology and history. Here again one can see how the ideals of the two areas differ, to be rich is the great thing for a Duau man, but to be learned means all to the Luritja.

7. Here, however, the analogy ends and we must begin to confess the weak points in our armour. We cannot deal with transference in anthropological field-work as we could in clinical analysis. To tell a Pitchentara that he really wanted to marry his mother and kill his father would be to accuse him of something that would make the old men of the tribe kill him with the pointing bone or the young men kill him with the spear. You would cease to be a friend of his if you tried this. To tell a Papuan that instead of being the liberal person whom he thinks he is, he is really very stingy at heart, and instead of being your friend he would really like to kill you, might make him commit suicide of shame and would certainly put an end to the information he gave you. It would be futile to try and press a theory of limited responsibility as embodied in the psycho-analytical theory of the unconscious ; and we could not even suggest the Œdipus complex in a milder form, such as : ' Were you pleased when your father went away for some time and left you alone with your mother ? ' All such attempts would be answered by an emphatic negation and would stop all further information.

Why, you may say, this would happen in every analysis also ; we call it resistance and we could not even get on without it. Quite true, but do not forget that your savage informant is not a patient. He does not come to you with a conflict that he desires you to help him with and he is certainly not willing to pay for the privilege of relating his dreams. In order to get into touch with him at all you must invert the usual analytic proceeding and offer him something instead of making him see the value of your work by paying for it. To all natives a white man is a superior person who disposes of many desirable things in the shape of tea, flour, tinned meat, sago, tobacco or rice, and a white man who wouldn't give him anything would be a wicked being indeed. Talking, especially about himself, means work for a primitive man and he would not do it day after day without any recompense. Not only that primitive man is not a patient, but the amount of psychical strain he can bear is far smaller than a civilized

man is prepared to cope with. After having had proofs of a transference in the dreams of many informants at Duau, I began to ' analyse ' in a more active style, that is, when there was something that pointed to the father or mother in the dream I began to insist on their talking about their fathers and mothers. The result was that for some time after that no more dreams were forthcoming. Some went home to the village and said ' We have finished the names of the dead ', i.e. we were compelled to talk about them. The Papuan is anything but sincere ; he will not tell you that it is taboo for him to talk about a certain thing. Once he is brought face to face with you he hasn't got the courage to refuse information, but he will take good care to avoid you afterwards. Now I knew that there was a taboo against mentioning the name of the dead, but I did not know that it was taboo to talk about them. When after this first manifestation of collective resistance I began to enquire into this matter I was told that it is not exactly taboo but people don't like it. Finally I got some information that threw light upon the subject : if a man talks freely about his dead father he will lay himself open to the suspicion that he has killed him by evil magic, in other words, wished his death. Well, I thought, they were not very far from my own point of view after all.

8. Tranference, of course, is the basis of all anthropological work, although the non-psycho-analytical anthropologist does not call it transference and knows nothing about its infantile origins. He gets the transference instinctively, because he likes his work and therefore also the people whom he is studying. I do not mean to say that the psycho-analyst will or should work according to a purely conscious scheme. He, too, must find the right attitude instinctively, i.e. through what has been called the dialogue of the unconscious. But, being accustomed to analyse his own actions, he will soon become conscious of what he is doing and why he is doing it. The anthropologist, on the other hand, works with an unanalysed transference and especially, what is worse still, with an unanalysed counter-transference. The counter-transference has not been sufficiently discussed in clinical analysis, yet it is an essential factor of therapy. By counter-transference we mean the attitude the analyst takes to his patients. It is that of a fond or a severe parent, not unmixed, as in the case of a real parent, with a tendency of identification with the child-patient. The anthropologist, although theoretically he may believe in the unity of mankind and therefore expect to find that the black or brown man has strivings, yearnings and fears like his own, is still the child of a

different race and civilization. As he slowly overcomes the feeling of strangeness in his new environment, the sorcerer and cannibal becoming as commonplace acquaintances as his school friends, the pendulum will naturally swing in the opposite direction. Instead of a group of uncanny beings, he now sees an idyll of the type imagined by Rousseau. Human beings untrammelled by the cares and conventions of civilization, innocent children who lead a happy life where all is love, play and good-fellowship. He does not notice that he is also reacting against the opposite extreme, unmitigated racial hatred, as manifested in the opinions of the white trader with whom he comes into contact.

I am afraid that some of our foremost field-workers, for instance, are idealizing the native beyond measure. It is not surprising that this should be so. For good field-work proves transference and transference again cannot be maintained without counter-transference. The same refers perhaps even in an enhanced degree to books written by missionaries who take an interest in anthropology. The missionary cannot possibly gain an influence of a spiritual nature without transference and counter-transference. As he is very far removed from an insight into his own psychic mechanisms and those of his flock, he will adopt an attitude in which, to put it in the words of one of the traders I have met, ' nothing the native can do is wrong '. Mr. Gilmour, the head of the Methodist Mission in New Guinea, was once relating some anecdotes about the Trobriand natives whom he has known well for many a decade. He, like Malinowski, commented on their natural politeness. They will praise you for everything, he said, and it is the custom to pay for praise of this kind. If you stumble they will fall too out of sheer politeness and then say : ' Oh how skilful the white man is ! He merely stumbled on this wretched path while we the children of the soil fell right down '. He told them that it was taboo for him to pay for praise. One day he shot a porpoise. The people who saw the shot said : ' O *tonugana !* Now if you had not got that taboo we should praise you to such an extent that you would be a poor man by the time the sun sets ! ' Acting on the same principle, if a native of Duau or Tubetube comes back as victor in the competition for armshells or necklaces he will hoist the *doe* (pandanus streamer) on his canoe. When the neighbours catch sight of this symbol of victory they will make a rush for the champion's village and take everything they can lay hands on. They cannot bear one man to be superior to his fellows in any respect ; envy is the leading feature of their character. The real meaning of the money given for praise is

that a man who has something which others covet must try to alleviate the envy, rage and hatred of his fellows. These are the sentiments that underlie that ' charming politeness ' of which some missionaries and anthropologists make so much. The veneer is so thin, the mask so transparent, that ordinary commonsense ought to be sufficient to see through it, if it were not for the rosy atmosphere of counter-transference.

9. Another fundamental factor in clinical analysis is the principle of *free association*. You tell a patient to let himself go, to eliminate all conscious criticism, and to repeat anything he may think of. It does not matter if these thoughts strike him as rude, obscene, incongruous or meaningless. He is just to speak out and it will be part of our work to find the real meaning of whatever he may have said. It is very difficult to induce patients to follow this rule and they will usually take some time before you feel that they are really not trying to arrange their ideas according to a certain scheme. In the case of a primitive man you cannot make him associate freely, you must wait till he does it involuntarily. The best scheme is to ask a few questions in connection with the dream and then just wait till he gets talkative. We must not forget that, although he is not making an effort to associate freely, he is also not on his guard. The inherent determinism of all psychic phenomena is not limited to the consultation-hour and therefore the psycho-analyst in the field can just make a mental note of the sequence in the information he gets. It is often a good plan when the informant has nothing more to say about his dream to tell him that now you know all about the dream and he should choose some other topic. This will put him off his guard and he may give the desired clue to the dream in the shape of a song, a myth or an incantation. If there is no dream the situation is more difficult. But you should always be careful to make a note of who relates a certain story or song. Later on, when you have got all the dreams, stories, songs or narratives of the same informant, they probably fit into a certain scheme and help to explain one another.

The principle of free association has its advantages and drawbacks when applied to the cultural aspects in the work of the field analyst. It must always be borne in mind that while the analyst at home is only trying to understand the mental make-up of a certain individual, the analyst in the field is trying to do two things at once. He is analysing informant So-and-So and also a type of human society of which So-and-So forms a part. For the analyst at home the second

part of this work is superfluous, for he himself forms a part of the same society. The analyst and the patient both speak the same ' language ', not only technically, using the same words, but also psychically, using the same social values. In the field, however, the analyst must also be an anthropologist. He can do nothing without anthropological training and anthropological aims ; indeed, as I have pointed out before, a common interest in the traditions and customs of the tribe forms one of the pillars on which the transference is built up. He will therefore make use of the principle of free association to get a complete picture of the culture he is studying and to obtain much information which he could never have got by direct questions. However, we know very well how a patient will use or abuse the principle of free association and press it into the service of resistance. Thus a book-keeper in a bank may spend hours of his analysis in explaining book-keeping, so as not to be compelled to talk about other things that are of more vital and disagreeable importance. The same will happen in field-work. The informants will give you endless amounts of songs, myths, garden magic, so that you should have no time to make enquiries regarding dreams, sexual life or black magic. You must then decide for yourself whether the information you are getting is worth having or whether you can risk losing a few details, perhaps even losing your time for some days, in order to get information of the kind they may be withholding.

Towards the end of my stay in Normanby Island, I made it generally known that I would leave in a month. Also that I had enough myths, descriptions of feasts, customs, magic and songs, and that only those should come who had had a dream. The effect was just the same as that of setting a term might be in a favourable case in clinical analysis. Dreams came in quantities and I got far more information even about the culture itself than I should have got by an endless repetition of the same details. A ceremony that occurs in a dream is often of greater importance than the same ceremony enacted in broad daylight.

10. There are two different techniques in field anthropology, best exemplified by what Spencer and Gillen on the one hand, and what Strehlow on the other hand, have been doing among the Aranda. Spencer and Gillen were always arranging ceremonies and they give us very accurate descriptions of the external happenings at these ceremonies. They tell us exactly how the performer was decorated, how he hopped about or wriggled, sometimes also what he is supposed

to be imitating. But they have failed to understand that the ritual is always the dramatization of a sacred song and that without that song it is quite meaningless. Indeed, they go so far as to say that the sacred songs are not understood by the natives themselves. They either did not know the language sufficiently or had no time to make proper enquiries, because of the crowd of men and the number of ceremonies they had to deal with. Their method might be described as the extrovert attitude in field anthropology. The opposite extreme is represented by the Rev. Strehlow. With a complete knowledge of the language obtained in the twenty-five years during which he was in constant contact with the natives, and as a preacher and translator of the Bible into Aranda, he works in the study with one or two of the old men at a time. He has time and patience and gets complete and accurately translated versions of the sacred songs. But he has never seen a ceremony : he cannot go and give his personal support to the very thing he is as a missionary trying to suppress. The result is that his information regarding the ceremonies and their relation to the songs is also inaccurate and misleading ; for the old men, although the best informants of the tribe, are not trained anthropologists who can explain accurately what they have been doing. His method of field work may be described as introvert. He concentrates on one man and eliminates the advantages and disadvantages of a crowd.

For the psycho-analyst a mere *behaviourist* outlook (Spencer) is just as unsatisfactory as the lifeless study-method of Strehlow. After having witnessed a ceremony I must get all the explanation that may be connected with that ceremony. And not only an explanation of details, but also chance association connected with the ceremony, and, last not least, the dreams connected with that ceremony. The Scylla of facts without words should be avoided, just as much as the Charybdis of words without facts.

11. The anthropologist of the old school was chiefly interested in the rules, laws or customs of a given area. He would try to cover a large area in his research work, probably in order to be able to trace the variations of a custom and its migrations. The modern anthropologist, especially if he belongs to the functional school, will settle down in a small area and try to get as accurate a knowledge of cultural data and their inter-relation as possible. While he rejects the often too daring speculations of the old school, he is likely to be rather sterile in his own deductions. All the publications of this school, be they on canoes or marriages, magic or trade, seem to come to the same

conclusion, viz. that the phenomenon in question is part of a whole, has a well-defined function in the social organism, is correlated to other social phenomena. We shall hardly be satisfied by truisms of this kind. What we shall aim at is to find the latent wish-fulfilment formula in each specific type of social organization, just as we can reduce a dream or a neurosis to such a latent formula. In order to be able to do this we have several irons in the fire. The first and most important portal to the unconscious is *dream analysis.* In so far as by keeping in touch with the same individual for some time, by getting a series of his dreams, and by a personal knowledge of his life and character we get an idea of the libidinal development of the individual in question, we may also speak of the *analysis of the individual.* This sword will cut in two different ways. It will help us to understand old Yirramba or old Kauanamo as a typical representative of the Aranda or of Duau and we shall no longer guess, but know, the unconscious meaning of a given belief or ritual. The second important thing is to make enquiries regarding *sexual life.* I could show you many famous books on anthropology with minute details about pottery and such subjects, which do not even mention what position is normally adopted in coitus. Yet I should think the man in the street will agree with me if I say that the sexual life of a human being is nearly as important as the chips of stone that fall off when he makes an axe. If what I call analysis in field-anthropology were what it is in the consulting-room, a special enquiry regarding sexual life would be unnecessary. But our savage informant is not making efforts to tell the painful truth and cannot therefore be compared to the patient in analysis. No human being is quite sincere with regard to his own sexual life, and therefore one positive statement in this respect ought to carry more weight than any number of denials. Beside dream analysis and a knowledge of sexual life, we should not neglect the *children,* who will teach us many things which the adults have forgotten. Here, again, I have attempted a sort of play-analysis in the style of Melanie Klein, without insisting on giving interpretations. There was no call to do so—I might have been increasing resistance through the medium of camp or village gossip and would hardly have got clearer results. Fourthly, we have *myths, ceremonies, customs* and the analytical interpretation of these. The accuracy of these interpretations will be greatly increased as compared to study-work by a personal knowledge of the informants; attention must be ever-ready to note and store away mentally even the most insignificant facts, such as jokes, casual remarks, slips of the tongue, etc.

If we can make all these lines of research converge at a certain point, we may be tolerably sure of the result. In comparing our new science with the two sciences to which it stands in the closest relationship, we cannot refrain from claiming that we have here a new anthropology. We can do all that the old style of anthropology could do and much more besides. New methods, new results, new problems. In comparing our results with clinical analysis our outlook will be less sanguine. We cannot do what the clinical analyst can do, but then our aims, too, are of a more modest order. We do not intend to change, only to understand things. And if by extending the sphere of analytically known facts we can be of some assistance to those who are grappling with the more theoretical, i.e. the metapsychological aspects of analysis, we shall be assured that there will always be a small corner for our science in the vast edifice of human knowledge.

III

CHILDREN OF THE DESERT

I shall here try and make Depitarinja and Nyiki, Wili-kutu and Aldinga and all the other little children of the Aranda, Loritja, Pitchentara and Jumu tribes, the fearless sons and daughters of the desert, the boys and the girls I used to play with, call on the reader and tell him all about themselves. I have called them fearless with intention, for, although of course they are not free from anxiety in the clinical sense, they certainly enjoy greater freedom of body and soul than an average white boy. I remember once when I had lost the track, and could not find my way to the Jumu and Pindupi camp, how I met a little Pindupi boy (aged about 9) wandering about quite alone with his toy spear and how he immediately took charge of the proceedings and piloted me to the camp through the sandhills. Although the little boy had heard many stories of the *bankalangas* (ogres) who prowl in the night, he was obviously not afraid of them. But this was perhaps because he was left-handed, and the left-handed hero is always the most redoubtable antagonist of the ogre in the Central Australian folk tales.

The desert or, as it is popularly called by the whites of Central Australia, the bush, is the nursery of these children. Their eyes are trained to see lizards, to detect the places where they can dig for witchetties, and they eat what they can get. Play and school is one and the same thing, for as they grow their aims will grow with them, till when they have reached the age of ten or twelve they can deal with the kangaroo himself.

I had to overcome their natural shyness somehow, so I selected a little group of two boys and two girls to begin with. We must not forget that to them a white man is an object of awe and they were more at home in a group than they would have been if left alone with the stranger.

The scheme I proceeded on is that of Melanie Klein's play-analysis, but without interpretations. In the desert it is very difficult to isolate the children and for obvious reasons interpretations cannot be given in a group. The toys I brought out for the first hour were a monkey, a nanny-goat, a snake and a mirror.

The monkey was a sort of man-ape holding a tree. As with all the toys of civilization it had neither male nor female genitals. Depitarinja, an Aranda boy of about ten, had a look at it and declared that he saw its testicles hanging down. Then he said it had a vagina, an

anus, hair on the anus, and it was an *arrakutja knara*, i.e. a big or old woman.

The next object he got hold of was the little goat. He showed me how the little goat had intercourse with the monkey, while at the same time the snake was cohabiting with the goat *per anum*.

The next thing the two boys took an interest in was the snake. They poked it towards the girls, who giggled and were ashamed, in a fashion that left no doubt regarding the nature of the snake.

Well, and who is the monkey? I asked Depitarinja. Without hesitation he replied that it is an old woman who is actually his grandmother, and here in the camp acts as his foster-mother. His father is dead and his mother married another man. She lives far away at Alice Springs. It was therefore clear that the old woman and the monkey were representatives of the mother-imago. What happened after this was a most conclusive and straightforward demonstration of the Œdipus complex. The little boy got hold of the snake and put it to the monkey's breast. 'The snake drinks milk'. Then he rammed the snake's head in between the monkey's legs; the snake cohabits with the monkey.

In order to make it quite clear that Depitarinja himself was the snake who had intercourse with the woman whose milk nourished him, i.e. with his mother, I will give an exact account of what happened two months later.

Depitarinja, who was generally a very lively boy, was very sad. We were at Hermannsburg and the descendants of the totemic ancestors went to the mission school. 'Why are you so sad?' I asked him. After some hesitation he owned up to what I knew already. He had been beaten by a missionary, because he *aruntjima* a little girl, a baby of about four. The missionary gave him a very severe thrashing. After a little pause he began the game by saying that the snake was sad. Then the snake smells the vagina of the nanny-goat. Then the snake marries the nanny-goat. Now this is just what Depitarinja had been doing, for *aruntjima* means to kiss and he has been kissing the little baby's vagina. That is what he got the thrashing for. The game goes on and all the toy dolls and animals are made to smell the vagina and anus of the monkey, who has kept her rôle of mother all along. Then a big rubber doll is made to represent the *inkata* (the chief, in Hermannsburg the head of the mission) and he beats all the others for smelling the monkey.

Through all the hours that I spent with the children, Depitarinja

continued to be ' master of the ceremonies '. It was really his analysis, the others were subordinate actors in the drama. And the plot of the drama was the love of the Snake and the Monkey, i.e. of the young Aranda boy and his mother.

One of the many ways in which the Œdipus attitude manifested itself in the games was the constant shifting of the monkey from the mother (or mother-in-law, or grandmother) function to the rôle of wife and then back again to that of mother. Thus, for instance, on June 10, 1929 (the same day on which Depitarinja was represented in the game by the sad snake and the snake married the nanny-goat) the monkey appeared on the scene as the *mara*, i.e. mother-in-law of the snake. The mother-in-law then chased the snake with a stick, as a mother-in-law will often do to get her son-in-law's food. For he is *kerintja* (an object of ceremonial avoidance) to his mother-in-law and dare not stay in her presence. Then the monkey went home to her husband, represented by the fish. The fish smelt first the vagina and then the anus of his wife, and the monkey liked it. Now he used his water-pistol to shoot the fish, thus killing the representative of the father for having had intercourse (represented by its infantile perverse equivalent) with the mother. Another time we had the Œdipus wish-fulfilment in the form of father-daughter marriage. Depitarinja made the snake marry three *arrakutjas*, the monkey and two dolls, who represent *quaras* (girls). ' No ', he said, ' the *quaras* are not the wives, they are the daughters of the snake '.

Or we may take the story of an afternoon (June 29, 1929) in the bush with the Jumu, Pindupi and Pitchentara children. Wili-kutu tried to explain the monkey. He is an old man walking with a bent back. Then they discover that he has no penis and go on to find his vagina. Very realistically they sniffle between his legs and say that the vagina is stinky. Now they make the big rubber doll the male; and when I point out that he too has no penis, they get over the difficulty by declaring that a paper trumpet is his penis, but he has found it convenient to drop it for the time being. Forthwith they make the rubber doll, whom they call an old man with a bald head, cohabit with the monkey, and then they finish the game by all hammering on the doll's head—the brothers in union against the father. Whether in the mission or the bush makes no difference, except in the way of symbolic representation. At the mission, of course, the missionary is the *inkata* (chief, universal father). They play a game of church marriage and the big india-rubber doll, as representing the

missionary, is marrying all the other dolls. They all march off to church, Depitarinja himself represented this time by the nanny-goat walking abreast with the missionary. He too is an *inkata*, he said; there are two *inkatas* now. Then there is a quarrel between the missionary-doll and one figure who represents a man called Merilkna. The missionary beats Merilkna. Subsequently I see the missionary-doll standing on its head and am told that he has fallen from an aeroplane.[1] We see the child's attempt to share authority with the father, the quarrel that follows (the child being represented by Merilkna) and the father's dire punishment. This time we have witnessed our hero acting the death of Laios. Another day we find him performing the marriage of Œdipus. Nyiki tells me what happened to Depitarinja yesterday. A big boy speared him for saying 'Cohabit with your mother'. Depitarinja pretended not to listen to the story, and began to shoot the *arrakutja knara*, i.e. to squirt water into the monkey's eyes with the pistol.

In Depitarinja's mental make-up the inverted aspect of the Œdipus complex plays a very significant part. While the snake represents him in his aggressive male attitude, there is always a certain amount of indecision regarding the sex of the nanny-goat. First he calls it a little girl and makes it kiss the mother (monkey). The kiss is repeated on the vagina and we know that he himself is always trying to do this to the girls. Now he makes a group consisting of snake (father), monkey (mother) and nanny-goat (himself). The nanny-goat is now treated as a male. It has intercourse with the mother while the snake does the same to the nanny-goat per anum. Here we have the Œdipus attitude in both aspects; the boy who loves the mother, but is also beloved by the father, and is therefore both a boy and a girl.

The nipple, as an erective organ from which he can derive libidinal sensations, is often identified by a male child with his own penis; and so in the attitude of the inverted Œdipus complex the boy in the act of ejaculation identifies himself with the mother suckling the child. On May 23 our young hero chose a girl doll and declared that this was Depitarinja. Then he put the india-rubber pistol right to his penis and squirted water out of it. He told us that milk came out of the pistol.

This little Aranda boy is what we might call a kleptomaniac. He

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[1] Captain Larkin had been to the mission once or twice with an aeroplane and had become the hero of all the children.

is constantly pilfering food from women, both native and white, and getting beaten for this by the men (chiefly white in this case).[2] One day after such an event I hinted at Depitarinja's custom while playing with the children. He did not say a word, but Nyiki placed the monkey (woman) opposite to the girl doll and said that the old woman was a demon who was going to steal the girl and take her to its cave. Now Depitarinja took the matter into his own hands, and began to tell us his own story in the symbolic language of toys.

The snake wanted to have intercourse with the monkey and the child. No ; the snake wanted to bite the monkey and steal the child. Third scene ; the snake fought the monkey by biting its breast, then it licked or smelt the monkey's vagina and anus.

Depitarinja has not had a very happy childhood. His father died when he was about five and his mother married another man. The child was evidently a burden to her, because she did not keep him in her new marriage but handed him over to the mission to take care of.

To procreate a child with the mother—that is the latent wish-fulfilment of this little Aranda boy, just as it is the latent formula in the myth of the origin of children. To steal in Aranda is synonymous with having illicit sexual intercourse, and this is what he is trying to steal from all the ' mothers' in the camp. Being a child he will naturally use oral symbolism for his desire, and the ' dampers ' (bush bread) he steals are a substitute for the nipple. One day he killed the mother-figure in his game and, when asked whom it represented, gave after some hesitation the name of our servant-girl. Why must she die ? She refused to give him bread and butter yesterday. As a matter of fact, it was my wife who had done this and so I could understand the tale of how the boy began to wish to kill his mother with his penis as a weapon, for refusing him her love. It is the same old story, re-told in the language of transference. Depitarinja boasts of how his penis will serve him as a weapon, and shows how he will urinate all round himself with it, so that the other boys who want to beat him can't touch him. He is therefore using the penis (snake) to commit rape, to take by force what is not his, to steal.

But the food he is stealing also means a child. In one sense, of course, this means that he has had intercourse with the mother and she has given birth to his child. However, the next scene in the snake-game shows his kleptomania in a different light and links it up with

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[2] He is far better off for food than the other boys in the camp.

the negative aspect of the Œdipus attitude. ' The monkey will marry the girl doll ' he said. ' But the monkey is a woman ? ' I object. ' How can two women marry ? ' ' All right ', he said then, ' they will be friends '. But he knows very well what he is after. In the next scene he puts the monkey on top of the snake and said that the monkey is cohabiting with the snake, the monkey taking the active rôle. Again I call his attention to the difficulties, for is not the monkey a female and the snake a male ? ' Yes ', he said, ' but the monkey has a child '. In the Aranda theory of conception food plays a significant part. The women conceives in consequence of having eaten food. Therefore the boy stealing the food would be the child who conceives from the mother and the unconscious explanation of this seeming impossibility is given by the boy himself. Oh yes, the mother can lie on top in coitus because she is a woman with a child, i.e. a penis. This interpretation said no more than the child had been showing us. For he himself is the snake and he makes the snake play the passive rôle in coitus with the old woman. And then he said the girl had got a child too. We have seen how in one game that he played he was the girl doll and his penis the nipple. Every time he steals he is found out, and often beaten by a white man, who for many reasons must be a representative of the father to the child.

The first thing that the child can remember about his mother is that she gave him goat's milk and the first memory about his father is that his father chased him because he cut his little sister with a knife. Here we have the child whom the snake wants to destroy, the envy of the boy directed against his younger sister, the sister as a substitute for the mother (knife-penis) and above all the punishing father. This is the infantile libido-situation he is unconsciously reliving in his thefts and their punishment, and here too we have the root of his many perversions.

After having related these memories of his infancy he performs a little pantomime. In a distinctly sadistic manner he orders the little girls to stand still while he *shoots* [3] them with the india-rubber pistol and slaps them. Having succeeded in making them obey his orders, he shoots the water-pistol into this own mouth and says : ' milk ! ' Then he lies on his back, fits the water-pistol to his penis and with unmistakable gestures imitates an erection and ejaculation, squirting the water

[3] The Aranda, who are now well acquainted with fire-arms, use the expression ' to shoot ' as an equivalent of coitus.

out of the pistol. Here we have the original infantile sadistic impulse, and then the fear of the father as a motive of its inversion, with the sudden transition from the sadistic to the masochistic, from the male to the female attitude.

One day he observed my wife cutting the neck of a chicken. He turned deadly pale and ran away. The first time he saw blood was when his big brother killed a bullock. He felt the same shock as now when my wife killed the chicken. Then he turned to a small boy of about two, and said : ' This is a little bullock '. He began to be a bit rough to the child, and when the child got sulky, he did the same thing as before—he took the pistol and shot into his own mouth. We can easily understand the underlying situation with the ' fear of the little bullock ' who might be killed by the ' big bullock ' (father, big brother) and chose the passive rôle rather than to face the danger.

After ' shooting ' into his own mouth he takes up the monkey again. The monkey is Nyiki's wife. The snake is Nyiki, who is licking his wife's vagina. As a matter of fact, this is what he is always doing with the girls and frequently getting into trouble in consequence.

One day the small group of two boys and two girls are especially merry. Depitarinja has the leading rôle again and he shoves the snake and the nanny-goat first into the monkey's vagina and then into her anus. They are licking, smelling, he says. I ask him whether he does that with the girls, and he says, ' Yes, that is very good '. Certainly he will lick and smell the *mama*. *Mama* means wound and is the children's word for the vagina. Then he looks at the snake, passes his hand down his smooth body and for the first time since he has been playing with it says that the snake has no penis. As the snake has throughout been the representative both of the child himself and of the pure phallic principle, this remark demands an explanation. Or rather it is an explanation itself ; it explains the child's tendency to *cunnilingus*. He is telling me that he is afraid he might lose his penis in the wound and that is why he chooses the tongue as a substitute.

As a reaction against this castration-anxiety, sadism sets in immediately. Goat and snake are again shoved into the monkey's vagina ; this time he says they are going to pull the vagina right out and eat it, thus furnishing another explanation for the child's tendency to take away and eat things that belong to his mother-substitutes.

We have mentioned the boy's negative Œdipus attitude. This is reflected not only in his games, but also in his actual sexual life, of which homosexuality is an outstanding feature.

The approach to this theme was indicated one day by Depitarinja sitting opposite to the little Iliakurka and blowing the air into his mouth with the trumpet. The child did the same to him. Then he saw a picture of two girls in bathing costumes in an illustrated newspaper and, although he recognized them both as girls, he said they were having intercourse. Now they start a game in which they often indulge. Nyiki and Depitarinja begin to accuse each other of phantastic sexual intercourse. One of them says, ' You had intercourse with a lizard ' ; the other answers ' You cohabited with a mouse '. As they get more and more excited by this duel they come to solid facts. Depitarinja and another boy put their arm right up to the elbow into a camel's vagina. This may be true, as little Iliakurka claims to have witnessed the scene. Now Niyki relates what is evidently a real fact, a part of Depitarinja's sexual life ; Depitarinja caught a smaller boy and *lendjiwuma,* that is, pulled the *lendja* (foreskin) back. Then he covered the glans with sand and rubbed it till the child ejaculated. After this he had intercourse with the boy, inserting his penis into the anus. Then again we are told that a bigger boy did the same to Depitarinja. After the coitus he got up and reversed the rôles with the bigger boy. While Nyiki was telling all this the hero of the story was slightly embarrassed. He made only a half-hearted denial which, for anybody who knows him, was tantamount to an admission.

He then vindicates his manhood by changing the subject. He squirted water from the pistol into the vagina of the mother-representative (monkey), and then threatened the two little girls, who with humble submission bowed their heads and waited to be ' shot '.

The sequence of events on July 5, 1929, seemed to indicate the connecting links between the inverted Œdipus complex, homosexuality and narcissism. He looked at me in a sort of trance whenever he came into the room. In my absence he would sit in my chair and assume the position in which he often sees me when I am rapt in thought. At the same time the mirrors in the kitchen show traces of where he had been kissing himself, after having had a good look at his reflection. In the afternoon when I gave the children their toys he chose the mirror, looked at himself in it and said, ' it is a man with a long *totura* (hair done up in a peak) and a beard '.

Then he used the mirror to reflect the usual game in it. This time it was the nanny-goat (Depitarinja) inserting its nose into the monkey's vagina and anus. He found the picture of a Cupid in a magazine ; it was a demon who loved Nyiki and showed its anus to Nyiki.

These mirror-scenes look like distorted offshoots of what in psychoanalysis we usually call the primal scene. The *totura* gives us the clue to follow: Depitarinja is a mission child, but his father was a free Aranda. The mission natives do not wear the *totura*; it is the distinctive feature of the bush. We should therefore conclude that he has seen something which affected him deeply and in which his father played a significant part. He is showing the same thing in the language of transference, taking my place in the chair, identifying himself with me and imitating me. It is therefore a legitimate inference to suppose that the other mirror-scene shews what he is imitating. The goat, that is, he himself, in the monkey's vagina and Nyiki's demon-lover showing her anus to Nyiki are therefore imitations of what he has observed of the father cohabiting with the mother. It is in this act that the child wishes to take his father's place and love his mother. But having replaced his father he also envies his mother's happiness; and here we see Depitarinja the father kissing his reflection, i.e. Depitarinja the child.

It is a favourable indication of the validity of conclusions drawn from playing with one Aranda child to find them in complete harmony with Aranda belief. For every Aranda has a reflection, a friend and protector in the spirit-world, in the shape of the *ngantja*, or hidden one, and this *ngantja* is also identical with his supernatural father.

If we compare these data of Depitarinja's mental make-up and sexual habits with what we might expect if he were a European child of the same age, we shall find a far-reaching similarity and some difference. To begin with, we find that the latent motive in the game is always and everywhere the Œdipus complex. In all the antagonists of the child's play-life we can easily recognize the shadow-images of the father, while all the objects of desire are rejuvenated replicas of the beloved mother.

In Depitarinja's case there is a strong tendency towards the inverted Œdipus attitude. The screen-memories of the mother giving him milk and the father chasing him for something he has done to his sister, the great anxiety when seeing the fowl's blood gush forth from its neck, the game with the serpent who has no penis, indicate that the origin of this inverted attitude lies in the anxiety that his father might cut his penis off for something he has done or wished to do with his mother. The castration complex is also the driving force of his perversions, and we cannot therefore regard these as due to the original 'polymorphously-perverse' (that is, not genitally unified)

erotism of the child, but must interpret them as true perversions, i.e. as regressive or genito-fugal substitutes for the genital function.

The degree of openness with which Nyiki, Depitarinja, Iliakurka and the others discuss coitus and perversions, also the exclusively and openly sexual significance of their games, is where these children differ from those of our race. One of the most important findings of psycho-analysis was the discovery of infantile sexuality, with its subsequent repression in the latency period. The infant in arms is characterized by a fearlessly aggressive sexuality. Gradually, in consequence either of castration threats or of actions on the part of either parent interpreted as such, the repression of the Œdipus-sexuality sets in. This leads to the formation of a series of substitutes, dramatic actions with a latent content. Therefore the latency period of infancy is also the play-period, and the abundance and complicated elaboration of games in any individual or society may be regarded as an index, showing the depth and strength of this repression. Varied and complicated games show that great quantities of genital libido are being diverted into other channels, i.e. sublimated.

The Aranda and their western neighbours have only two children's games beside cat's cradle. The latter is exclusively a girl's game and should therefore be discussed in another paper. The two games sometimes merge into one, as in the following account of her infancy given by Kumia (Sweet), a Luritja woman of the Merinpopo group (Ngatatara).

' When we were little girls we used to go out into the bush with the boys and make a *quendja* (windbreak ; she uses the Aranda word). We made a fire, drew figures in the sand and played the game called *tjitjipanga tjitjipa*. We made a little wurley and played with the boys. They would go out and find something to eat, we would eat together, cohabit with the boys and go to sleep. Then we might make a little baby out of the inkuta bush ; that was our child, and one of the boys was its father. The boys played *kapata-kapata* '.

Ilpaltalaka, an Aranda woman of the Undabara country, will now explain what the *tjitjipanga tjitjipa* really is. When the girls have made their little wurley in the bush they spread gum leaves on the ground. One of them represents the future husband, the other the girl herself, the third her son or daughter and so on. Then they will hit the gum leaves (or sometimes wooden slabs) with a crooked stick, called *mani*, and make them jump. The ' husband ' stick or leaf would fall on the ' wife ' leaf : ' he is beating her because she didn't look after the child properly. Ljimba grass put in a pitcher is the

baby. The 'mother' comes home to her 'camp' and puts the 'baby' near the fire to keep it warm. Then they would play father and mother with the boys, just like a European child would. They would paint themselves with lime and make a children's corroboree, called *tjutalpi tjutalpa* (bird dance) and sing (chant ; the word is 'night talk') while the boys danced.

If we look at this story closely, we find that by *tjitjipanga tjitjipa* the old women really mean two different games. One called *kapata-kapata* in the case of boys is really the eternal children's game of playing at being grown up. The boys' game consists in spearing each other with toy spears and walking about with the spear as if they were grown up. It is the same thing as when Depitarinja tells me that the other *atua* (men, i.e. boys) will soon be here, now he has brought the *arrakutja* (women ; little girls). The Yumu and Pindupi have a characteristic name for the game in its female aspect, *jakunka* (mothers). The little girl's hope and desire is to play at being her mother, or replacing the mother in the affections of her father. The other game, correctly called, not *tjitjipanga tjitjipa*, but in Aranda *altjira*, in the Luritja languages *tukurpa*, is the one played with the curved sticks, called '*mani*,' and leaves that represent the players and their married life. In a truly psycho-analytical spirit this second game is regarded as foreshadowing the future, as an oracle of what will happen when the little girl becomes a married woman. This is quite true ; for the infantile tendencies manifested in our games have a decisive influence on our fate in life.

The tendency to confuse these two games indicates their fundamental unity. In the *tjitjipanga tjitjipa* game the child plays at being grown up ; it plays with boys, that is, substitutes for its own body symbols of other real people ; but in both games sexual life is the focus, and wish-fulfilment the driving force. The fact that coitus with the boys actually forms a part of the *tjitjipanga tjitjipa* game shows that the repression and secondary elaboration of the original content has not gone very far. The same remark applies to the *tukurpa* game. According to the description of this game as given by Pana, a Pindupi man, the girls will take two leaves, one representing a girl, the other a man. First the two 'leaves' 'sit down' opposite to each other. Then the girl takes some saliva and, calling it semen, sticks it on both leaves. Now she rubs the two leaves together ; they are *muranyi* (cohabiting). The other forms of the game, such as the older wife, represented by a leaf, beating the younger wife out of jealousy, are

accessories to the essential thing. While Ilpaltalaka and Kumia would tend to call what is really the oracle game *tjitjipanga tjitjipa*, Pana speaking of the oracle game would combine it with the baby nursing, which clearly belongs to the other game. One day when I asked my little group of children to play their own *altjira* or *tukurpa* game instead of the game with my toys, I realized that it was this very game we had been playing all the while, only we had been playing it with new toys.

Two wooden slabs and some gum leaves were brought, the little girls smoothed the sand with their hands and stuck the slabs and leaves in. They begin to play in the orthodox fashion. The two slabs are two women fighting, knocking each other on the head. Then they are two men, each with a group of wives represented by the gum leaves. Now the mission influence comes into the circle with the European toys, the big doll representing the missionary marries the whole group to each other. The game goes on in the usual way, native and European toys being used in exactly the same way.

Altjira or *tukurpa* means dream, and the game is truly a dramatized day-dream of the players. In this connection it is of interest to observe that Kumia, after describing this game, goes on to relate a screen-memory. The first thing she remembers when quite a small child was an emu dance. Her mother was among the group of women singing at this dance. One man (her tribal father) ran away with a girl whose breasts were just beginning to show signs of puberty. Another man, called Depitarinja (not the little boy !) also bolted with a girl who had been promised to him. As a matter of fact her mother had also been promised to Depitarinja, but the marriage did not come off. The dance leads to the rape committed by the tribal ' father ' and to the marriage of a man who ought to have married her mother. The latent meaning of the screen-memory would be : ' I saw something—a dance—father doing something to mother '. The *tjitjipanga* game means ' I will do what I saw the old people doing '. And the oracle or dream game is a reversal of the original situation ; the player sees small objects (gum leaves) in the act of coitus, i.e. the father or mother looking at the children enjoying themselves. While the actual situation is in the reversed relation the scene represented by the game is the original one, the child seeing the married life of the adults.[4]

The latent content of the day-dream game is probably the same as

[4] That is, the small objects represent big people.

that of the real day-dream, though I have got only a few samples of this elusive phantasy. Nyiki one day told a story of how he killed a lizard, cut its head off and ate the rest. Then he killed a euro, came back to the camp and had a swim in the creek. All this was told as if it had actually happened yesterday, but there has been no water in the Finke for many years. Nyiki could hardly have killed an euro and thus it seems that the whole is a day-dream starting from something possible (lizard), going on to kill a bigger animal than he could manage (euro) and ending with the swim. He probably heard his mother talking about the good old times when they would swim and catch fish in the Finke. He went on to relate a real dream in which he was frightened by a *ltana* (ghost). I made him draw the ghost, then a snake in the sand, and then he talked about his father's recent death. It is at least very tempting to link up the animals he kills in his phantasy, the animal drawing in the sand, with the terrifying dream of his father's ghost.

This relatively simple form of the day-dream type of game agrees with my own direct observations and with what the natives themselves have told me, viz. that they have no latency period. I have seen a Pitchentara boy of about three throwing a girl of about two down on the sand and going through the regular coitus movements on top of her. Two big girls came and picked the boy off the baby-girl. They go on doing this whenever they get a chance through their whole life. When I say that they have no latency period I may be making a somewhat too categorical statement. It would be more exact to say that only small quanta of libidinal energy are diverted from their original direction in the latency play-period and that the line of demarcation between the desexualized and the unmodified libido is very weak. When the Pitchentara and Yumu children were beginning to make themselves familiar with the new toys, Wili-kutu, Jankitji and the others began by putting the serpent and the paper trumpet to their penis as a sort of elongation and then they would run to the little girls or to each other and use this toy penis in exactly the same manner as they would have used the real one. The performance was realistic, the laughter and pleasure genuine. You could not help noticing that here truly we have the children of the desert in their undisguised nudity. Wili-kutu took the rubber doll and rubbed his penis on it, he not only said that he was *muranyi* the girl, but I could see that his penis was erected and a few drops of semen were ejaculated.

Since Freud's memorable publication *Hemmung, Symptom und*

Angst, we have arrived at a clearer understanding of defence-mechanisms, that is, the weapons used by the ego in its defensive warfare with the id.

One of these mechanisms is repression, that is, withdrawal of the pre-conscious cathexis (word-concept) from a libidinal drive. This withdrawal would have to be repeated constantly, were it not for counter-cathexis. Counter-cathexis is a fixation of diverted libido, which takes place either in environment or appears as a trait of character, a modification of the ego. The rapid transition from play to coitus in these children shows the weakness of counter-cathexis. Another defence-mechanism we are familiar with is regression, that is, the re-transformation of genital into non-genital (oral, anal) libido. We have seen how the castration threat in Depitarinja's case leads to his oral, anal and masochistic perversions.

A third defence-mechanism of the ego is what we usually call projection. Its importance in our own civilization, although very considerable, is not to be compared with what it means in a Central Australian tribe. Sometimes, when walking about in the Aranda camp, I would see Depitarinja and Nyiki or any other children chopping up wood, and whenever they let the axe down they would say: '*Nyikika noa Anyiunga*', that is 'Nyiki's wife is Anyiunga' enumerating one of the women who would be marriageable for Nyiki. Nyiki would answer in the same way by mentioning one of Depitarinja's 'wives'. It was surprising to see how long they could stick to this game. The toys I brought were used in exactly the same way. The player always dramatized the *other* boys or girls in the act of coitus or *injainama* (licking, smelling). Real projection, as we generally use the term in analysis, would be to attribute desires of which we are not conscious, repressed strivings to somebody else. In the case of the Aranda children, however, we frequently have what might be called a conscious projection. In relating the homosexual adventures of Depitarinja, Nyiki is fully aware of the fact that he too frequently enjoys himself that way. He probably thinks that I or anybody else who listens to the narrative might regard him unfavourably and it is as a means of protection against this condemnation and not against what his own super-ego has to say to the matter that he talks about Depitarinja's sexual life. However, even in this case we must assume a repression as the ultimate root of the projection, for although he may be conscious of the perversions he has certainly repressed the Œdipus complex and castration anxiety that has led to these perversions.

We have been dealing with two groups of children both belonging to the same race. The mission children go to school and although they are still in many respects real children of the desert they have undoubtedly been modified in certain respects. Out in the bush they run, wrestle, roll about and perform coitus, but I have never seen anything like the sadistic and masochistic games in which Depitarinja indulges. He has frequently been punished for the perfectly natural manifestations of his libido and these functions have thus become associated with the idea of torture and of being tortured. For the native may have an aggressive but he has not got a sadistic character.[5] He will roar at a child or hurl a boomerang at him in a sudden fit of anger, but he will never deliberately punish him. Thus the child in the bush will never introject a sadistic super-ego and never enjoy the game of punishing or of being punished.

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[5] By sadistic I mean here taking pleasure in a systematized ' exhibition of power ' ; by aggressive I mean a simple outburst of rage.

IV

SEXUAL LIFE IN CENTRAL AUSTRALIA

Let us put ourselves into the position of a freshman at the university or of any average educated person who begins to take an interest in anthropology. After having worked through Tylor and Frazer and some modern books on anthropology, our beginner may perhaps decide that he will now go into details. He thinks he would like to know all that there is to be known about one definite group of mankind. He has read four or five of our best anthropological monographs and is now brim-full of data. Perhaps he is a man with strong repressions ; then he will not notice that there is anything wrong, and he will think he knows the savages of Central Australia or South Africa, or the Andaman Islanders.

But he may also be a man of a different type, in whom the conventional attitude of civilization has not been able to obliterate commonsense, or putting it more technically, the *sense of reality*. In this case he will remember that Hunger and Love, or Individuation and Genesis, have always been and always will continue to be the two fundamental factors in the life of all animals. If he goes back to his books after this, he will probably find plenty of information on the methods of hunting, fishing or gardening. But as for sexual life, the information will be either totally absent or extremely scanty.

Nobody will deny that women are of greater importance in the life of an average man, whether savage or civilized, than ceremonies, and yet we find hundreds of pages devoted to the latter with only one or two about the sexual impulse. There are two very obvious reasons for this, or rather perhaps we should call it one reason. Neither the savage nor the anthropologist like to talk about the subject ; both have their repressions and the shyness that is a consequence of their repressions.

The psycho-analyst again finds some difficulties in presenting the subject. His theoretical position is that our life and our psyche are conditioned by the interaction of the life and death instincts. The life instinct is what we also call the libido, and in so far as it is libido relating to another individual, whether of the same or another sex, this would roughly cover what is usually called sexuality. For practical reasons, however, we shall refrain from discussing libido in its pre-genital aspects here, as these will be considered in their relation

to character-formation. We shall therefore take the normal hetero-sexual type of genitality as our starting-point.

What is female beauty ? Tastes and fashions vary, even in civilization, and all the more so if we put the question to humanity at large.

A Kukata (Central Luritja) man tells me what he regards as an *intuta*, i.e., beautiful woman ; one with fair hair, a nice face, big eyes, a pointed nose (*mula iru*), round or big cheeks (*kanta punta*), round buttocks (*mana puntu*), round breasts (*ipi puntu*), a fat big body (*anangu puntu*), plenty of hair on the pubes and a fat *mons pubis*. The girl whom he pointed out as corresponding to this beauty ideal was pop-eyed and not at all pretty according to our ideas.

The Aranda beauty ideal as given by Renana differs only in a peculiar detail regarding the eyes. These should be *alkna tarta*, i.e. level eyes and the eye-socket should not be too large. A pointy nose, big cheeks and breasts and a big *ljola* (anus) are the essential features of beauty. The *totja* (*mons veneris*) must be fat and covered with *punga knara* (a lot of hair). Why should there be a lot of hair ? Because then the hair covers the clitoris and the labia and the man does not feel ashamed when approaching the woman.

It should not be forgotten that this is the beauty ideal of a naked people. Perhaps the latter remark throws some light on the function of the beautiful in sexual life. Attraction is based on the infantile mother ideal ; the child only knows the swelling breasts, and all that is ' good ' or ' beautiful ' (*mara*) is based on this fundamental concept. But the attraction should be of a pre-genital type, so as not to mobilize the castration complex. Evidently the clitoris and labia are regarded as the essential genital zones of the female, or we should not have shame specifically connected with these parts of the genitalia. The specific conditions regarding eyes and nose are not so easy to understand and I prefer not to indulge in any guess-work.

Supposing then that a young Kukata or Aranda has found a girl who comes up to the mark, who is *intuta*, he will try and get an opportunity to talk to her. He will hang around the woman's camp or prowl about when she goes into the bush for witchetties, or suddenly rush upon her when she is going from one place to the other with her mother or friends. This is how it is done. An Aranda girl was going towards Henbury with an old woman and some of her friends. When they came to Ellery's Creek, two men suddenly rose up before them at a certain place. They looked around and saw that the men had the spear-throwers under their arms and spears in their hands. This symbolizes

mbanja, that is, marriage. She told them to go away. At Tnamakara, one of the men caught hold of her friend's arm (this action itself is properly called *mbanja*) and dragged her away. The other man tried to frighten her into obedience with a knife but she resisted his advances. When a Ngatatara woman sees a man standing up with a spear-thrower, she just runs for dear life. If he catches her he just holds her arm and pulls. She resists and shouts. This force or show of force which is embodied in the action and word of *mbanja*, and in the fact that spear and spear-thrower mean marriage in gesture-language, is brought into action in any case ; whether the marriage is an elopement or a perfectly legal and prearranged affair makes no difference. Aliumba was always being ' chased ' by Mulda who was a sort of foster-child of her husband's, but another woman was always being ' chased ' by the man to whom she had been legally promised.

A Pindupi man told me how he got his bride. She was promised to him ; he had made the customary presents, so everything seemed to be all right. But whenever he came to claim his own she would refuse and her mother abetted her in her resistance. Finally he got hold of one arm but the mother held on to the other. He pulled one way, she and the mother pulled the other way. He managed to tear her away from her too fond parent, but then she did her worst and bit his arm several times. Finally he gave her a few knocks on the head with the boomerang and then won the day.

To show what *mbanja* really means, I shall now quote a passage from a folk-tale. A folk-tale of course is not real life, but it is something even better for the psycho-analyst. In fiction phantasy (i.e. wish-fulfilment) reigns supreme, untempered by reality. The picture is therefore a distorted one if taken literally, but one which shows the psychological side of the custom with greater distinctness than the custom itself could.

Two boys waited till the man ' went out hunting and left his wife behind to gather seeds. Then they went around cautiously and caught the woman *mbanja* fashion. She tried to resist by cowering down but they held her and cohabited all over her body. Not a spot remained untouched excepting only her vagina '.

Popular phantasies regarding primitive mankind are usually very far from the truth. In this case, however, there is something to be said for them, for the Central Australian really favours the ' *cave-man style* ' in courting. I must ask you to excuse me for a few moments. The field anthropologist is about to disappear and the psycho-analytical

theorist will take his place. Psycho-analysis, represented this time chiefly by Ferenczi, has put forward some theories regarding coitus itself. According to these views, force used by the male to attain his desires should be far more prominent among a really primitive race than in a civilized community. Children usually interpret what they see or hear of their parents' sexual life as a fight between father and mother, and from a Central Australian point of view, they are not far wrong either.

Are there any further indications to show that the sexual life of our stone-age friends bears this stamp of vigorous masculinity ?

Whether the *position adopted in coitus* has anything to do with this sadistic admixture to genitality is hard to say. At any rate I will give a translation of an Aranda describing what happens when a man and a woman go off ' bush ' by mutual agreement.

' They two first look into each other's eyes . . . then the man goes . . . furtively goes . . . the multitude not sees it . . . the woman she sees man going . . . then the woman also rises . . . furtively goes . . . then both one place come together. . . . Then the woman nearer comes . . . and both rub their breasts together . . . the man asks . . . you to me come . . . the woman says . . . Yes I to you come ; I you love . . . Then the man takes her bush dense . . . then he her makes lie down . . . Man comes close . . . then her thighs she opens to both sides . . . then he cohabits with her . . . during which the man woman with his arms holds above the anus . . . lifts up the woman . . . she man with legs both embraces . . . holds him with arms also . . . Then the two enough cohabited they talk . . . You to me again come ? . . . Then both again do it . . . both like the first time they do it . . . Finally both go about married camp other to . . . Then they two permanently married remain . . . Some people hear it . . . they get angry and when the two again come back to the camp they want try them to separate . . . Some times they may separate them . . . Some times they cannot separate them . . . Those two each other love . . . both finally married remain '.

The man is in the kneeling posture, the woman lies on her back. We know very little about the sexual life of non-European races and for some time I was inclined to think that this mode of coitus was the general rule for all of them. It was first noticed by N. E. Roth in Queensland, then by Malinowski in the Trobriands and Basedow among the Aranda. In Somaliland the same *modus coeundi* was described to me, but subsequently at Duau in British New Guinea I

found that the supine, or European, position was regarded as normal. We must wait for more information before we can say whether it has anything to do with a greater or smaller degree of object-erotism.

Among the Aranda, as with all human beings, an understanding is first arrived at without words. Desire is mirrored in the eyes. The rubbing of breasts is as general a form of fore-pleasure with primitive people as kissing in Europe. Probably both are off-shoots of the same infantile situation in which the lips of the infant touch the mother's breast. In actual coitus there is a superficial contact of the upper half of the body. The description also shews how society reacts, as it always does, to the libido. Some people will get angry and try to separate the lovers.

Another significant feature of sexual life in Central Australia is that there is frequently a great disparity in age between a man and his wife. ' The fourth and most usual method of obtaining a wife ', Spencer says, ' is connected with the well-established custom, according to which every woman in the tribe is made *tualtja mura* (own mother-in-law) to some man '. ' The arrangement, which is usually a mutual one, is made between two men and it will be seen that, owing to a girl being made *tualtja mura* to a boy of her own age, the men very frequently have wives much younger than themselves, as the husband and the mother of the wife obtained in this way are usually of approximately the same age '.

This custom is called *lelindja* or promising, and although it naturally does not exclude marriages between those of equal age, there is, as Spencer remarks, a strong tendency for the husband to be much older than the woman. An Aranda man, taking his own case as an example, gave me the following explanation of *lelindja or orthodox marriage.*

A Knuaria man marries a Ngala woman. They have a son who is a Pultara. The boy is the *amba* or nephew of a Ngala man, his mother's brother (*kamuni*). A *kamuni* must always look after his *amba.*[1] He gives him food and later instructs him in the ceremonies. Now the Pultara boy has grown up and married a Kamara woman. The *kamuni* continues to protect and ' take care of ' his nephew, only now he extends his goodwill, and the food-presents that go with it, to his nephew's wife. They are both under an obligation to the *kamuni.* Supposing then that a daughter is born ; it is their time to show

[1] Spencer and Gillen : *The Arunta,* 1927, II., p. 469.

their gratitude. The Kamara woman takes her daughter in a *tana* (wooden basin) to her mother-in-law, the Ngala woman, who of course is her child's grandmother. The grandmother now takes the baby in the *tana* and goes to her brother, who may perhaps be sitting in the sand before his wurley. She puts the baby on his feet and says, ' By and by when she grows up you will feed her and then marry her '. If he does not want her, he can hand her over to another Ngala man of the same local group, for she is a Knuaria and therefore the proper wife of a Ngala.

Supposing, however, that the first Ngala man has married, his wife would be a Knuaria and their son a Mbitjana. The Mbitjana will then marry a Pangata and their son will also be a Ngala. In the first case we should say that the proper husband for a girl is her father's mother's brother. Or we could put it another way and say that the proper husband is the father's mother's brother's son's son, which means that the children of two *ankalla* (cross-cousins) intermarry. Although the latter practice is probably more frequent in actual life we must not forget that in theory our hypothetical Knuaria girl is the spouse of her father's mother's brother.

The whole sexual and social life of the tribe is strongly dominated by *patriarchal* tendencies. Marrying a woman means beating her into obedience and there is a tendency for a grown-up man to have a wife who is the same age as his daughter. The type of married life that is connected with polygamy fits in very well with this picture.

Ilpaltalaka, an old Aranda woman, will now tell us some of the reminiscences of her youth, to show how polygamy works out in practice in Central Australia.

' When we arrived at Lapa, my husband and Tjuwa-tukuta went to Njala. I stopped in the camp with the women. Then I saw my husband and Tjuwa-tukuta coming back, each of them dragging a young girl along *mbanja* fashion. I saw him coming with the girl. " What girl is this ? " I said. He answered : " My wife ". I started to beat the new wife with a yam-stick, but my husband gave me a knock on the head and others rushed in to stop the fight. I had to give in. Tjuwa-tukuta's wife " growled " a little, but her husband soon made her obey and settle down. Then we came to Ndalkatua. There a man called Lartjinaka, my *kamuni*, had two wives but he always camped with one of them. Indalura Nyinara, the elder wife, started a row with her husband and the young woman. " We ought to camp together. You are a bad man because you always keep away

from me ". There was a big fight and everything went on as before. We went on to Tapirka. I was sleeping with my husband and Ttcha-walja, the young wife, was in the *lukura* (girls' camp). At night when we were all asleep, my husband got up, went to the *lukura* and called the young girl to his camp. But she would not come. She was afraid of me. In his rage he poked me with a yam stick and when I awoke he knocked me on the head. What could I have done ? I got another yam-stick, rushed to the girl and beat her. Now my husband rushed on to the scene and we both beat Ttcha-walja '.

Then she goes on to relate some episode of her mother's married life.

' My father (i.e. step-father), Kaliraka, had many wives. One of them he got when she went for witchetties. Her name was Lultjua and she was about my age. The old man was always prowling around her and once he caught her and cohabited with her in the bush. My mother had her suspicions, and she had followed Kaliraka. She came and saw them cohabiting. She started to beat the girl, but Kaliraka said, " No good to fight, I can keep you both if I like ". So mother had to give in. But when they came to Ulpina, Kaliraka got a third woman called Tankaka. Now mother and Lultjua were both quite good friends and they both went for Tankaka. They gave Tankaka such a hiding that she ran away and camped with a white man. But Kaliraka found her, made her lie down on the ground and covered her with red hot ashes that burnt her all over '.

Under this system a man can always get new young girls either by sheer force or through his social influence. The elder woman doesn't like it, she shows fight, but soon has to give in. The sadistic component in male sexuality has ample scope for abreaction. Men and women are naturally cruel. Ilpaltalaka laughs with joy when she remembers the punishment inflicted by Kaliraka on his runaway wife. A husband, however, will always do that much for his elder wife that he will let her beat the newcomer for a while. If the treatment she applies to her rival gets too bad, then he comes to the conclusion that it is time to stop it.

We shall now shift our point of view and try to understand what married life means to the woman. It is a well-known fact that in Central Australia the child's totem depends on what the mother dreamt when she first noticed her pregnancy. As the experience of motherhood is undoubtedly the fundamental thing in the life of a female, it seems evident that this conception dream must also give us

the *decisive key to the sexual life of the woman of the desert.* Instead of giving a general sort of typical statement as to these dreams, I will give some of the dreams themselves, as told by the women, and the associations that I could get to these dreams.

Kanakija, an old Mularatara woman (her husband is a Pitchentara), tells me how she got her eldest daughter Kanturi. She went to the bush to get some *kurkati* lizards. She was lucky that day and got plenty, and also some *aramara* lizards. She brought the lizards back to the camp and ate them. She didn't enjoy it, they tasted bitter; that night she had a dream. She saw a man, he came quite near and then disappeared. The man had gone into her womb and she knew she had a child.

This happened at Urara, a Kurkati totem place. They were having a Nganamara bird corroboree there, and after that all the men went on the war-path. It was a revenge expedition for a son of hers who had been killed previously. The ancestor in the dream looked like her father.

After this child she had a boy called Panka (Goana). He was incarnated at the same place. She went for *alliti* (acacia-bush) and got some *lunki* (a kind of witchetty). It tasted bitter, and she felt a biting pain in her belly. Then she had a dream. In the dream she again went for the *alliti* bush and found the *lunki.* Then her father came and chased her. The father she sees in the dreams is a man called Watatara who married her mother after her father's death. Her real father died when she was quite a little thing and she does not remember him. In fact, she was quite grown-up before they told her that Watatara was not her real father.

As this dream of the father chasing the woman and thus going into her womb is fairly typical of Central Australian conception dreams, we must pause here to point out certain conclusions. If a man 'chases' or 'frightens' a woman in Central Australia, this can only mean one thing; that he wishes to have intercourse with her. *The totem of an Aranda or Luritja is determined by a thinly-veiled incest dream of his mother's.* How after this anthropologists will be able to go on denying that the Œdipus complex is the latent content of totemism, I should really like to know.

At the time when she had these dreams her father had been dead for some time. Her husband had gone to the fight to revenge the death of her son. In the dream the two who are dead and the one who might die are evidently condensed into one person, and we see what

might be called three editions of the original incest-attitude. The primary latent content is the desire for intercourse with the father. After telling her dreams, she goes on to tell me how when she was a little girl she used to go and get *kurkati* lizards with a boy, her cousin. In both cases the conception takes place after eating *kurkati*, so that we may guess that this cousin was the first father-substitute, and the first (or, if we include the father, then the second) love of her life. All the love she once felt for her father she is now about to give to her son, who is the same being again. We may therefore assume that the dead man who enters her womb, i.e. has intercourse with her, is not only the dead father but also the dead son. Her husband has gone to fight those who killed her son ; he might die in trying to get revenge. He had, therefore, for the unconscious, become identical with the other two dead, and is also represented by the mythical being who enters her womb. For is he not about to become a father and thus to replace the idol of her infancy ? Therefore, read from the viewpoint of actuality, the incest-conception dream means simply this : ' Now I shall be able to give all my love to my husband, because he has made me a mother '. From the archaic and infantile point of view the same dream presents a different aspect. ' My husband must die for having dared to take me away from my father. I can only love my father and in becoming a mother I am still his wife '. And finally (this would be the third reading), the dream also says ' I am going to have a son and a new incestuous substitute for my father '.

Napurula, a Maturtara woman, had eaten *kanala*, a kind of lizard, at Illamata. It tasted rather bitter. It was a very hot day but she went on to get *kurkati*. She was standing on a sandhill and she saw a man approaching stealthily, hiding behind a tree. She ran for her life because she thought it was a *leltja* (enemy) on a blood-feud expedition. But when she looked back he had disappeared.

Now this is a day-vision, but its content agrees exactly with that of Kanakija's dreams. The man who disappears goes into her womb and he is officially to be regarded as the local totemic ancestor. When asked what he looked like, she says, ' like Malpunga, my father '. Another time she was eating *endurkana* snake at a snake-place, Alatara. A man came with a spear and chased her. He too looked just like Malpunga, her father. She goes on talking about other ' enemies ' who ' chased ' her, i.e. other phantasies of being raped, and finally says that her father very often beat her when she was a tiny girl and cried too much.

Just as in very many European cases, sexuality is modelled on the pleasurable sensations experienced by the little girl when chastised by her father, and then preserves throughout life an incestuous and masochistic tinge. ' Cave-man style ' is not only what a Luritja man wants, it is also what a Luritja woman desires, and a good husband here as elsewhere is the strong man, as representing the once all-powerful father.

Now Aldinga and Aliumba, both of the Ngatatara (Merino) group, are certainly a happy couple. Aliumba's conception dreams and visions shew the very foundations of this happiness.

She got her son Wainta at Eriambata. She had gone to get yam with the other women and something made her look behind. She saw a man coming towards her with a spear, but when she looked again he had disappeared. She felt that something had gone through her hip bone. When she went back to the camp and ate some kangaroo meat, it tasted bitter and she felt sick. The man must have thrown a *nankara* stone into her. The man looked like her husband Aldinga. First she thought it was a demon and that she would be ill. When, however, no sickness came and she was pregnant, she knew it could have been no demon but only a totemic ancestor.

I must resist all temptation to branch off into a discussion about *nankara* stones or on the relation of demons to ancestors. What interests us here is merely that the apparition held to be responsible for the conception is said to be like her husband and throws a magical missile.

Another son originates from yapilpa. In this case she dreamt of a watersnake rising up before her ; next day when she went for yams she saw a man who was following her, but when she turned around there was nobody there. In the evening she ate some wallaby meat ; it tasted bitter. Then they went westwards with her husband. She felt that she had a child and, remembering the dream, she thought it must be a *kulaia* child. The man in the vision was a tall man, like Aldinga her husband, and she felt the *nankara* stone going right through her rib. It is the way of the big *kulaia* to send its children, the little *kulaia*, and they throw the *nankara* stone to make people sick.

These dreams are remembered by the women because of their totemic significance. But, in the case of Aliumba, the dream of the man who throws a *nankara* stone at her was not only dreamt before she noticed that she was pregnant ; it is her typical dream. In a slightly modified form she dreamt it while she used to come to me. The dream ran thus :

'I was digging yams when a *leltja* came and speared me. I ran away with the spear in my leg and then I fell down like dead. Aldinga put *nankara* stones in my ear, stroked my face and I could get up'.

Then she starts to tell me about a big fight in the old times, at Putati. Her father, Pinatara, had a fight there with his brother Pundara. She and the other girls were away getting yams and when they came back they saw the two old men. Both were wounded, and she and the others cried. Aldinga, her husband, is a *nankari* (medicine man). Only the other day he sucked something out of her back and she got well. Her father, Pinatara, and his brother Pundara, were both famous *nankari* men, and she remembers how her *father used to suck things out of her when she was a small child.*

The dream differs from the typical dream only in the distinction made between the man who heals and the man who kills, the spear of death and the stone of life. In the original setting a man throws the spear and it becomes a *nankara* stone in her body. But it is not difficult to recognize her father, Pintara, in the man who spears her, though usually, as in real life, he appears under the guise of her husband. In this dream she cannot see the face of the *leltja* (the usual disguise for the father) and Aldinga's *nankara* stone heals instead of killing her. But we should not forget that she also regards the *nankara* stone as the vehicle of conception. It is therefore easy to see how it comes to be identified with the spear, the typical penis-symbol in this area. She heard about the father being able to shoot things into people and knew that the thing that father shoots in means death when it enters the body, and life when it comes out of the body like a child. The dreams represent the infantile wish-fulfilment. She is killed by the father (cohabits with him) and bears a child to him. *She is a happy woman because she has found another medicine-man to replace her father,* the great man of her infancy. She still conceives from the *nankara* stone, but now it is her husband who owns the magical instrument of conception.

It seems, therefore, that the relation of the sexes to each other is very near to what we should call normal from the psycho-analytical point of view. The male is a male with emphasis, the female in happy subordination. The whole organization of society is based *not directly* on the primary Œdipus relation, i.e. on the love of the son for the mother, but on a secondary phase, a reprint of the original, on *incest between father and daughter.* The only difference, so far, between what we should call normal in Europe and in Central Australia is the

absence of strong and partly sublimated object-love. The Australian male may have a very strong desire for a woman, but he is not a romantic lover. The admixture of aggressivity in the genital impulse is larger, that of tenderness is smaller, in the stone age than in civilization. We might be expected to be satisfied with this result and to say, " Thank goodness, at last we have found somebody whom we can regard as quite normal.' But a psycho-analyst is a sort of person who is never satisfied. He must go on ferreting about till he finds trouble somewhere.

Well, in the case of our Central Australian natives, the whole situation as expounded so far seems too simple to be true. You may perhaps remember that I gave a folk-tale episode as a sort of hyperbolic representation of what *mbanja* really means. In that episode the two boys rape the strange woman and cover her whole body with a series of cohabitations—the whole body excepting the vagina. This looks as if anxiety were lurking behind the bravado of the cave-man style.

According to Aranda belief and tradition there is a category of women called *alknarintja*—' eyes turn away.' These are women who will not look at men, who are ' wild ' and run away at the sight of a male being. It is the greatest ambition and achievement of an Aranda if he can either by magic or by sheer force subdue one of these women into obedience.

Let us first try and find out what the *alknarintja* are by using the classical method of the consulting-room, by analysing the dreams of a patient. In this case the patient is a blind old Aranda man of the Yirramba totem, called *Yirramba Banga.* He is of an intelligence that is far above the average and especially interested in the myths and religion of his tribe. One day (about the middle of March, 1929) he dreamt [2] that a group of *alknarintja* women called him to join them. He was afraid and would not go. Then the women left the camp in three groups. In the next scene he is with the women. Some of the women kill a bandicoot, others are in search of bush-seed, and he is digging for yams. Then he came back to the camp with the women. An old man was sitting in the camp with folded arms. He was sitting near a flat stone called *pulja* (navel), and a tea-tree arose to mark the spot where he sat. They all decorated themselves with *alpita* (bandicoot tails).

Then he went out with the *alknarintja* women and they made a big

[2] I give a somewhat condensed version of the dream.

fire. Into that fire they drove the bandicoots, and so they had plenty of bandicoot tails for the *alpita*, while they gave the flesh of the animals to the old *inkata* (chief).

The dreamer himself was making *ljapa*, that is, rubbing the string on his leg. He repeats this several times and shows how he was making *ljapa*, while some women were making *kanta* (round head decoration), and others were making *alpita*.

After this scene the fire scene is repeated with slight modifications. This time he does not go with the women but sits in the creek. Then they all perform ceremonies. They made many fires round the camp and he and the women were whirling the *namatuna* (small bull-roarer). Then they were all making *walupanpa* (the string which the novices put on at the *inkura*: initiation). He was decorating himself with the women while the old man knelt in the middle and erected a ceremonial pole. Now he and the *alknarintja* women go to the pole and all embrace it. Then the whole crowd, including himself, the *alknarintja* women and the father, went down into the ground at *pulja*, all clinging to the ceremonial pole. There they all became *churunga* (see below).

The women, he tells me, were fair like white women. They had fair hair and were very beautiful with white paint on their body. When asked whether he knows anybody like the women in the dream, he mentions a native woman who cooks for the mission teacher. He is an old man and she a middle-aged woman, but according to the classification system of relationship she is his *mia* (mother). He was present when she was born. Now she is good to him and always gives him something to eat. Then he talks about his own mother, about the *arunkulta* (magic ; in this case, influenza) which killed his brother and sister near his mother's home or *tmara*. There is a big water-hole there. He is very sad that my wife has gone to Adelaide. She was just like a mother to him. Then he talks about the bandicoot ; it is an animal that digs under the ground and is always making a nest. The old man in the dream is his father. He was present when his father died, and did his best to take care of him.

In order to understand the whole dream we must have some knowledge of tribal ceremonies. The situation in which an old man sits in the camp with the great ceremonial pole, decorated and receiving meat as ceremonial payment for the rites he shows, is that of the *inkura*, or last phase of initiation. In addition to this we find that the old Yirramba and the *alknarintja* women are making *walupanpa*, and he says this is what the novice will put on after the *inkura*. Moreover,

a ceremonial pole would only be used at an *inkura*. In a parallel dream which he had the night before, he is not with the *alknarintja* women but is a novice among other novices at the *inkura*.

This throws some light on the meaning of initiation. The novice is being made a woman in relation to or by his father. While among the Aranda and neighbouring tribes this is merely one of the unconscious contents of initiation, it is an actual custom among the Nambutji. Here the future father-in-law goes about with his son-in-law after initiation and regularly has intercourse with him. They call the younger man the ' boy-wife ' of the elder one. As a sort of compensation for this intercourse, in which he was made to accept the passive rôle, he then receives the daughter of his ' husband ' as his wife. Among the Aranda and Luritja a man frequently marries the daughter of the man who circumcised him, evidently because, in the unconscious, circumcision is a mitigated form of castration. *Being castrated by the father (father-in-law) is suffering what the mother suffers in coitus, i.e. replacing the mother in the primal scene instead of replacing the father.*

In his dream, old Yirramba is young Yirramba once more. His father is the initiator and he is the initiated, i.e. an *alknarintja*, a woman who is supposed to resist the amorous advances of the men. The trend of associations which leads from his classificatory mother to his real mother and then to the wife of the analyst, whom he has now adopted as his own mother, clearly shews what an *alknarintja* is. The woman who refuses all men is the mother, both because she is inaccessible to the desires of her son and because he would like her to be inaccessible to the love-making of his father. If we ask the old man to tell us what the whirling of the small bull-roarer signifies, he will tell us that the boys used to do this when making love-magic. While a man would usually trust to the power of his arm to get any ordinary woman whom he might desire, he would probably have recourse to the bull-roarer to break the resistance of an *alknarintja*. We can now begin to re-translate the dream into the language of the unconscious, and we find the son's desire (magic) for intercourse with the mother.

This interpretation is borne out by what the old man says regarding the closing episode of his dream. But first I must explain the meaning of becoming a *churunga*. Everything that an Aranda does is modelled on a pattern. There is nothing new under the sun ; we are only doing what totemic ancestors did at the dawn of the world. They are the

eternal ones of dreams, for all myths are dreams and, as we see, some dreams are myths. Now the totemic ancestors always end their days by going into the earth and becoming *churunga*. We might therefore say that the old man's dream ends with death. He dies in close embrace with his father and his mother, the latter being represented by a host of *alknarintja* women.

However, although becoming *churunga* means death, it means something else besides. New life sprouts forth from these sticks and stones, and it is from these that the *ratapa* (unborn babies) swarm forth and enter the wombs of the women. When I ask him what it felt like to be metamorphosed into a *churunga*, he describes how soft the earth was where he went in and how *tjipa tjipa* he was when this happened. If *churungeraka* means to die and nothing else, then there is a vivid contrast between the content of the dream and the feeling in the dream. To be *tjipa tjipa* means to be happy, a state of rapturous delight, ecstasy, as, for instance, in coitus. We shall therefore endorse our first interpretation and amplify it by adding that to *churungeraka* with father and mother means to be in ecstasy, in cohabitation with them.

In the centre of the dream-picture we find the father in the ceremonial kneeling posture, which is also the posture of coitus. He is kneeling near a stone called 'navel', the place where they finally go in and become *churunga*. Navel in Aranda is a word frequently used for *womb*. That the father has an erection is made evident by the tree and the ceremonial pole, which rise up from the ground beside him. We can now attempt to construe the original scene which must be regarded as the starting-point of the dream. *The child sees father and mother having intercourse and desires to participate in their pleasure.* We must not forget that the old father is eating bandicoot, an animal brought to him in the dream by the mother. To eat is a very frequent metaphor for coitus. Talking about the bandicoot, he repeatedly says that it is always making a nest. We may therefore suspect that here again we have a symbol of the nest from which the child emerges, i.e. of the womb. The mother offers the bandicoot, that is herself, to the father, and the father eating the bandicoot would be another representation of the primal scene.

What is the baby doing? He is digging, that is, prodding the earth with a yam-stick; then he is rubbing string on his thighs and he is whirling the bull-roarer. I do not wish to cover old ground again and so I refer to my book on *Australian Totemism*, in which I showed conclusively that the bull-roarer was the penis. We have therefore

more than a suspicion that these activities refer to onanism. The child notices the coitus of the parents, gets *tjipa tjipa* (excited) and *masturbates with the phantasy, that he, like the mother, is embracing the huge pole, i.e. the paternal penis.*

As we are now concerned only with the meaning of the *alknarintja* women, we need not go any further in analysing the dream. It is sufficient to indicate the direction in which this analysis might go by repeating that the only thing he mentions in connection with the father is that he did his filial duty by the old man when the latter died. The dream has done what we asked it to do for us, and it may go back into dreamland. Now we know what an *alknarintja* woman is and why an Aranda boy makes magic in order to get such a wife.

When we were talking about dreams and their interpretation, Mulda, a Ngatatara man, and Urantukutu, a Yumu, both told me that if you dream of an *alknarintja* woman approaching, you must speedily awake. Why ? Because she will make a man lie on his back and she will then sit on his penis. The *alknarintja* then cohabits with the man, but she takes the rôle of the male and makes the man play the part of the female.

The straightforward and uncompromisingly male attitude of the Aranda adult cannot, therefore, be regarded as something simple and original, something that requires no further explanation. We begin to perceive how powerful an influence the mother exercises on the development of the child, and we get a glimpse of *patriarchal society arising as a wall of defence against this influence.*

In civilized society we know very well that many children have the phantasy of the mother with the penis. The male child represses the discovery of a lack of the pleasure-giving organ in the mother, and in condensing the positive and the inverted aspect of the Œdipus complex creates a being that satisfies all sexual aspirations.

According to the Aranda the *alknarintja* or mother with a penis existed at the commencement of things. The women who came from Amunurkna went dancing all the way along the McDonnell Ranges. This special type of dancing called *ndaperama* is performed by the women to-day in honour of the boys who are to be circumcized. These women had long clitorises, each clitoris being like a penis. They had three of these penises altogether, one in the middle where the clitoris is at present and two on each side where we now find the labia. Nyipitya, the leader of these women, took a stone knife and cut off all the male organs, leaving only a small one, the clitoris. In

a Pitchentara version of the same story the mutilation is effected not by a woman but by a kangaroo man, who first cuts off the women's penises and then cohabits with them.

One of the Ngatatara women who used to come and tell me their dreams told me that in her dream she had been chased by her brother. When she woke from the incest dream she found that she was lying on top of her son Nyiki. After this I began to make further inquiries, and I soon found out that this was regarded as the typical way for a mother to lie on her child. They even added, to make things clearer, that she lies on the child like the male on the female in cohabitation.

For all those who know that there is such a thing as infantile erections, *the importance of this discovery can hardly be over-emphasized.* With this custom the typical infantile experience will be that of erection in connection with the mother. The whole force of repression will be directed against this phase of sexual life and also against a situation in which the male takes the part of the female in coitus. But memory and desire survive in the unconscious, hence the Central Australian male projects into space a mythological being, the *alknarintja* who comes to the sleeper and sits on his penis and whom he is always trying to conquer with his magical wand.

It is hardly possible to understand the psychosexual life of the Central Australian native without commenting on the importance of homo-erotism, by which I mean all forms of love between men, from the direct sexual relation in the boys' house at Hermannsburg to homosexuality as an institution among the Nambutji and to symptomatic forms in ritual and the bond of deflected libido which cements the union of a male society. The men will sit in the camp in the evening and each of them will masturbate either his own penis or that of his neighbour. This is a sort of game; then they compare as to who has got the bigger genital. Among the Pitchentara and Mularatara two cross-cousins are the proper partners for this game. They will begin to talk together and then one of them will show his penis and say, ' I have a little one '. Now they are both masturbating themselves and the second man answers, ' You have a *mamu* one (big one like a *mamu* = devil). They then show each other the *aralta* (subincision hole) and say, ' Yours is big, mine is little '. Still going on with the masturbation, one cousin will say, ' When you cohabit, your penis will get so big that it bursts '. Then the other man answers, ' Yours is as hard as a bone ', and he feels it with his hand to prove what he said. Then the first man might say, ' You are like a *murmuntu* ' (dragon,

i.e. your penis is like a dragon) or, ' your subincision hole is as big as a spear thrower '. The two stand beside each other and pull the skin down, pressing the glans penis with their fingers. Then again we may consider ritual. I have already shown how superficial the work of secondary elaboration is in this archaic form of society, for ritual is not only a sublimated form of masturbation, it actually begins with masturbation. The Aranda have a custom called *tamila*, that is, asking. This is a sort of erotic joking between two men on the ground when the ceremony is finished. One man will shout to the other, ' Your uncle ' or ' Your grandfather ' or, saying more clearly what is meant, ' *Kamuru tjina wata wara* ' (Uncle foot long). He has to answer immediately ' *Kalu watawara* ' (Penis long). Should he fail to do so, the other man can beat him or urinate into his hand and then make him throw the urine into his own mouth. Finally in its sublimated form we find the same tendency at the basis of Aranda religion, for we see a group of men united in the cult of an object that is a materialized penis, and excluding the women from their society.

Like every other human being, the Central Australian boy starts life with one primary impulse and this is the genital striving directed towards the mother. But I suppose in not many human groups does this striving come so near to fulfilment. Again and again I saw the Pitchentara assembled round their camp fire in the evening, and Tankai talking to the others while she went on playing with her son's penis. The small child lies on his back completely covered by the mother ; it is very probable that he has an erection. But the amount of pleasure derived from this situation is *too much for the ego*. Castration anxiety is connected with the vagina, as Kanakana said ; each time a man cohabits, the penis dies because the vagina is so hot. At the same time the primal scene is the starting-point for another type of castration-anxiety with another mechanism of evasion. In this situation what the boy fears is not the loss of the penis in the vagina, but the man with the big penis who might transform him into a woman as a libidinized form of punishment.

Being afraid of the loss of his pleasure-giving organ in the vagina, he tries to find pleasure and avoid danger in mutual onanism with his cousin. The cousin represents the line of demarcation, the transition between the relations that are involved in the incest taboo and those that are not. There is something piquant in the marriage with a cousin. *Society disapproves with admiration and takes no steps to prevent it.* It is not a mother and not a sister, but the next best thing.

Similarly the male cousin is the obvious substitute for those who stand too near to the infantile circle of libido, i.e. to father and brother. 'I love my father and not my mother,' i.e. one of the latent formulæ in this type of society. The next variation of the same theme would be, 'I have an indestructible penis, a stone *churunga* like the super-human father's, like the eternal dream-folk'. The penis itself is a weapon, the spear the symbol of and the path to marriage. Now how are we to reconcile the first half of this paper with the second? For first I showed that the Aranda were a people who lived a happy sexual life. The male every inch a male, the lord and the father of his wife. Then I took pains to show that this was all *camouflage*—a shield used by the ego to ward off the arrows of anxiety.

The point is that we must not expect too much. We are only human beings after all, and cannot expect to be as happy as wolves. We all have our conflicts; but we have various means of dealing with them. If we do not reckon in the latest of these methods (that is, of being analysed), there are two chief ways of dealing with the problem. One is that *of symptom-formation, the other that of self-transformation,* or to put it less technically, *in one case we do something more or less like what we wanted to do; in the other we have managed to persuade ourselves that our behaviour should be in direct contrast to our desires.*

Our Central Australian friends are happy because they can manage to live in a human group without giving up too much of their original aims. We have described symptoms but not a transformation of character. Indeed we might put it in another way and say that the shield used by the ego, against the troubles which go along with the doubtful advantage of being human, is partly that of biological *maleness,* an inheritance of our animal ancestors.

The symptoms we have found are not very far removed from the deeds themselves and the work of secondary elaboration has only just begun. Maybe the happy days of wish-fulfilment, the time when the eternal dream-people lived in the world, was not so very long ago after all, and we can still get a glimpse of these bygone days.

V

TOTEMIC RITUAL

Once upon a time when giants lived on earth—that is, when totemism was in fashion—an anthropologist who was true to his colours would always conclude a paper on the subject by proving that here too we have totemism. That was in the days of Andrew Lang and S. Reinach, when anthropology was trying to show that Greek and Celt, Hebrew and Latin were only slightly modified savages. Now the pendulum has swung in the opposite direction, and it seems to be the duty of a well-educated modern anthropologist to show that the particular tribe he is discussing is not totemic at all. Sons must always differ from the fathers, and if they have nothing new to give they spoil the good that has been done by their forefathers.

Of course we should first give a definition of what we intend to call totemism. I think most anthropologists will agree that a group of *human beings regarding themselves as related to an animal species* (sometimes a species of plant or natural object) *and deriving their names from that species* should be called totemistic. The word *related* should be understood with a certain *latitude*—it may either mean physical or magico-mystical relationship. This slightly modified form of Frazer's classical definition avoids all the elements of *petitio principii* that are involved in many other definitions. If we include the idea of a clan or of certain taboos in the definition, we may be on the right track as far as the original form of totemism is concerned, but we are deliberately blocking our own path for future research.

It has recently even been hinted that the Aranda are not totemistic at all. I do not know what they are if they are not totemistic ; as a matter of fact there is nothing—except the practical necessities of life and then the other religion that centres round the demon world—that has not got something to do with the *knanindja*. *Knanindja* means origin and is a noun derived from the verb *knanakala* (to come forth, to originate). *Indja* is a regular suffix ; thus, for instance, *intunama* = to circumcise ; *intunindja* = circumcision ; *iwuna knanindja umquanga* = which is your totem ?

The word itself shows how important it is for the anthropologist to have some idea of the native language. Spencer and Gillen talk about *nanja*, later *knanja*, admitting after having read Strehlow that it might also be pronounced *knanindja*.[1] Now this is not a question of who

[1] Spencer and Gillen : *The Arunta*, I., 69.

caught the right sound of the word. To say that *knanja* is correct but sometimes it might be *knanindja* is like saying that the word was really *orgin* but it might also be pronounced *origin*.

However the essential thing is to understand that the word does mean origin. But this leads to another aspect of totemism which we may discuss some other day. The first thing I intend to do in this paper is to give a rough outline of the facts, that is, of all group activities which the natives themselves connect with one of the *knanindjas*.

The natives have had their evening meal and are sitting around their camp-fires. Some of them, usually the young men, or perhaps one younger man with several boys, will stand up and hop about. The rest of the camp, men, women and children beat time with the boomerangs and sing. They are all having a good time. This is a *ltata* if they are Aranda, or a *pulapa* if they belong to the group of tribes called Luritja.

According to Ilpaltalaka's narrative, at the *ltata* or *churunga ltata* the men tie a peaked hat made of bushes on their head. This is the *kutara*. The men dance, while the women just move their thighs slightly and make a noise by slapping their buttocks with their hand. Then the men blow the trumpet (*uluru*) and the women know what the sound means. They follow the man into the bush and there they have intercourse. If a woman has married another man, her first lover always retains the privilege of getting her back at the *ltata* if he wants her. If a woman falls in love with a man of the wrong class, this obstacle will be disregarded if the thing happened at a *ltata*. Suppose she belongs to the Kamara class and her husband is therefore a Pultara. Their son is a Knuaria who calls all Kamara women his *mia*, i.e. mothers. If he fell in love with her at a *ltata*, Knuaria could marry even a Kamara and their descendants would be Pultara just as if the man had married the right woman, i.e. a Ngala. Aniunga, one of the Merino Luritja women, told how at an *inma* (L. for *ltata*) the men danced with a spear and then had intercourse with the women in the bush. Another type of dance that was frequently held in the old bush days is what the Aranda call *wuljankura* and the Luritja call *ununtu*. In this case the position is reversed and the women dance while the men sing. However, both the *ltata* and the *wuljankura* series are determined by the totem ; that is, we have kangaroo, emu, opossum *ltatas* and *wuljankuras*. The connection with totemism is made still closer by the information given by Aliumba.

Her daughter was incarnated at Anali, a Yalka place, and is therefore a Yalka woman. They were dancing at an *ununtu* before the incarnation dream and the fact that it was a Yalka place determined the nature of the *ununtu* just as it would have determined the nature of any other totemic ritual—it was a Yalka *ununtu*. The lack of a line of demarcation between what is popularly called a corroboree (*ltata, wuljankura*) and what is usually called a totemic ceremony is also shown by the Pindupi *pulapa* we saw at Bosun's Hole. What we actually saw was one man with a *kutara* and a fire-stick standing in the middle and the boys repeatedly rushing towards him to grab the stick. Whenever they came near he would growl most horribly and they would run back again, only to emerge from behind the bushes in the next minute. This was great fun, but it turned out to be the dramatization of a serious myth. This is a free and abbreviated translation of the song :

' They walked in a row . . . We the turkeys walk in a row . . . Making a noise with our wings . . . The wings are like boughs moving . . . Past the shining glittering lake we go . . . The woman with the long breast, the woman with the standing breast . . . They are *mamu* (demon) women . . . They show their teeth . . . We see it and go past them . . . The people sit with their backs turned throwing the sand . . . They sit crouching and defecating . . . They have no fire . . . The turkey man has a crooked *aralta* (subincision hole) . . . He squirts out blood from it . . . They become ceremonial feathers and fly up to the sun '.

The song is all about the group of Pulapa men who came from a place called Talkaru (Big water) and went to Iltirtara (with Beefwood). They saw the local people having intercourse. The local people had no fire, for one of the turkey-men had got all the fire that was on earth in his *kutara*. They attacked him and he squirted blood from his penis to keep them away. Also he threw a spear at them and that spear contained some fire. This was very lucky, as otherwise there would have been no fire on earth. My informants never finished the story. They could only go with story and song as far west as Walkaranta. There the turkey-ancestors changed their language and the rest of the story belongs to another tribe. All they know about this part of the myth is that it is *ngallunga* [2] and therefore on no account to be

[2] Technical term for the initiation myth.

related in the presence of the uninitiated. The story itself, with the sacred song, clearly shows that it was originally a performance of the *wamulu* (sacred feathers) type, which had in the course of time been handed over from the men to the women, or rather from the group of ceremonies reserved to the men to those in which both sexes participate. It would be very tempting to analyze the latent content of the performance, but it would lead to a side-issue. The main thing is to show how even a myth of the Promethean type connected with the most sacred part of the initiation ritual may be handed down to become an everyday dance.

A similar thing took place in the case of a Yumu rain-*pulapa*. According to what I was told, the central part of the ceremony or dance consisted in a man walking round with a spear covered with a string—therefore a sort of *tnatandja*.[3] The men walk round, the women sing. The men are painted with stripes of red ochre only. Again, there is a ceremonial song of the proper totemic type. The paraphernalia show some differences, especially in the absence of bird-down, and yet many similarities to a rain-performance of the same people which I witnessed. But after this rain-*pulapa* they *junkali punganyi* (i.e. give to the other = exchange wives). At such times the husband may also exercise his rights to his wife's younger sister and take her as a second wife.

For the present it is sufficient to understand that in these *ltata* and *wuljankura* ceremonies, which always end in licence of some sort, we have not something radically different from what is usually regarded as a totemic ceremony, but the first link in a long chain of ceremonies. At an *indjalka* (witchetty) ceremony of the Matuntara the *kira* is worn in the head. This is very similar to a *churunga*, the distinctive feature being the lack of down and of the traditional totem marks. The very fact that the Aranda call these ceremonies *churunga ltata* shows that they must be connected with those in which the real *churunga* is used, and that no explanation is satisfactory if it fails to explain both aspects of the totemic performance, i.e. both the ceremonial coitus on the one hand and the taboo on females on the other. Another category of ritual was described as *tarapulja*. Strehlow and Spencer do not mention this, probably because neither of them were very much in touch with the northern, i.e. Burt Plain and McDonnell Range, section of the Aranda tribe. In Strehlow's time their lands had not been all taken up yet and they had not come in to Hermannsburg,

[3] Ceremonial pole used in the sacred totemic ceremony.

However, old Moses was one of my informants on the subject and he was also one of Strehlow's main informants. He told me that this ceremony was half like a *ltata*, half like an *utnitjija*. This means that women were present at the ceremony, but they were only allowed to stand at a distance. The *utnitjija* character of the ritual means that its aim was the multiplication of emus. Moses explained that *tara* = big fire, *pulja* = soft. The latter expression is used for a young emu, and therefore the whole word refers to the big fire made in the *altjira* times by the Father Emu. Round this fire he gathers the young ones and the word *tara* also involves the meaning that the fire was made so as to make the young emus visible. The aim of the ceremony is to induce the emus to lay eggs and the little ones to come out of the eggs. The *tarapulja* song given by old Yirramba Banga is the same as would be used for a real totemic ceremony. We should know more about the *ltata* type of performance if we had a greater number of songs and more complete texts. One of the songs I have is that of a very popular *ltata*, the *ltata wolkna kata* (dance with a grave). This, like the ' dance with a spear ' (*raue-rindja*) is one of the few dances without animal names or localization. Translated from the Ilpirra language it would run thus :

' Put the paint on, the boughs on the leg . . . Quick, put on the boughs . . . Standing in a row . . . with the short sticks . . . round the grave with the sticks . . . Dance well and dancing hold up the little spear . . . The *tjakula* is shining . . . O spear, O spear, of flying feathers . . . Drink the water, drink it . . . The *ulambulambu* bird . . . The last in the row . . . Heap of sand piled out of grave . . . Shaking the head we hold the little stick '.

It is difficult to say whether the song ever had any connection with the totemic ancestors. Only the reference to the *ulambulambu* bird seems to indicate something of the kind. Most of it is a description of the dance and the dance paraphernalia. The *tjakula* is a shell magically connected with lightning. They put it on at the dance instead of the *alpala* as a pubic covering. It makes the girls *erooma*, i.e. tremble with desire for coitus. ' Drink the water ' is symbolic or rather allegorical : ' drink ' means to have intercourse ; ' water ' refers to the vaginal fluid of the girls. A similar song from the Burt Plain Aranda refers to a *tnyimatja* (witchetty) *ltata* of Alukara (Pine tree). While the animal name and the localization agree with what we find in the totemic ceremony, the essential difference is that these

songs are not based on myths, but on the dream of a single individual. The *andatta* (eagle hawk down, see below, p. 65) is used in this ceremony, and yet if you ask the natives for a general statement they will say that the *andatta* is only permissible at a ceremony reserved to the men. Another feature of importance is that these *ltata* songs are sometimes called *ilpindjas*, and the *ilpindja* is a type of love-magic always based on totemic tradition.

I said above that the *tarapulja* was half a *ltata* and half an *utnitjija*. Utnitjija is practically a new word in anthropology, and I must confess I was very surprised to hear it. There is a reference to the word under an asterisk in Strehlow, but that is all. In order to understand the intricacies of Aranda ritualism, I think it is best to quote the words of some of my leading informants.

Old Yirramba definitely states that *utnitjija* is the ceremony where they *make* or *create* (*arpmanama*) the animals. Only the *knaripata* (old men) may witness the *utnitjija* and the paraphernalia consist in the *ground drawing* (*ilpintira*) and very big *churunga* in the head. Chiefly, however, in the decorated shields, i.e. *utnitjija alkuta*. Then he corrects this and says : ' There are two kinds of *utnitjija*, one for multiplying animals and the other for the young men after the subincision but before the *inkura* (last phase of initiation). The other kind (presumably this is the one he first said was reserved to the old men) is made in the *worritja* or winter time before the rainy season when the animals get thin. When we see the boys standing in a row—he says—that is an *inkura*, but when the old men are making the animals that is an *utnitjija* or *mbatjal katiuma*.'

By thus identifying the *utnitjija* with the *mbatjal katiuma* the old man has somewhat relieved our mind. But he distinguishes two kinds of this *utnitjija* or *mbatjal katiuma*, the one connected with initiation rites and the one that has to do with the totem animal.

On another occasion I got similar information. *Mbatjal katiuma* really meant *imbatja katiuma*, to make the footsteps or track. In this sense there were again two types of *mbatjal katiuma*. Either the ceremony was a symbolical making of animal tracks, i.e. (*pars pro toto* = animals) in the sand, or it was a remaking of the tracks left by the ancestors, a ceremonial repetition of their primeval migrations. In this case what is made is really remade, i.e. they revive the memory (footsteps) of the ancestors in the young men of the tribe. Far out in the west the Pindupi call the multiplications of the animals usually called *paluni* (*arpmanama*) by all Luritja, *kutintjingani* = turning

sand. It is the sand that is turned round in these ceremonies, and as the sand contains the footsteps both of the ancestors and the animals, the expression is analogous to *mbatjal katiuma.*

This continual identification of ceremonies which previously have been clearly differentiated is rather bewildering till we understand its latent meaning. Old Yirramba again declares one day that the *urumbula* and the *utnitjija* are the same thing. This can hardly be literally true, but he proceeds to explain what he means. Both feasts finish with the young men's stomachs being hit by the old men; only in the *urumbula* the *churunga* are used, whilst in the *utnitjija* the ceremonial shields. Both, he says, are repetitions of what the ancestors did, for when the *tjilpa* (wild cat) people first made *utnitjija, ratapa,* i.e. unborn babies, swarmed forth, not animals like nowadays. Other ancestors followed this example and whenever they performed a multiplication ceremony, they *mbanbiwaka* (made) human beings. They got children from the big *churungas* they carried in their bags. The *andatta* (down) which covered the *churunga* emerged from it. This down contained the *kuruna* or soul of the unborn child and carrying the soul it entered the mother who became pregnant.

This method of making a child is still in fashion. Occasionally the totem of the child is not determined by the place where the woman felt the first symptoms of pregnancy. For instance, the husband may be carrying his own *churunga* from Tmanda in his bag and the feather may get into the wife at Latirka. In this case the totem would be determined by the Tmanda *churunga,* so that father and son would have the same totem. In these cases the son would be very similar to his father and the similarity would be explained by their having originated from the same *churunga.*

Whenever a totemic ceremony is performed with the intention, not of multiplying the totem animal, but of showing it to somebody, we have—at least in the area I worked in—an *illpangura.* Spencer and Gillen erroneously call the novices at the final phase of initiation *illpangura.* Everybody, even one of Spencer's own informants, declared that this was a mistake. The novice at the final phase of initiation is a *maliara,* but the ceremony they show him is an *illpangura.* The etymology of this word given by Moses: *ilpa* = ear and *ngurungura* = follow, obey, behave properly, seems to me rather fanciful. But then again there are two kinds of *illpangura.* The ceremonies performed for my benefit were *illpangura,* Wapiti, Mulda, Aldinga and the others performing and receiving my *tjaurilja,* i.e. presents for doing

so. It was often explained to me that this was strictly in accordance with old customs. Any young man who had been through the first two phases of initiation (circumcision and subincision) might, if he were friendly with any of the old men, ask the latter to show him a ceremony and would return this benefit by suitable *tjaurilja*. Or, as in the case of Wapiti and Mulda, it might be the other way round. After having given plenty of emu flesh to their fathers the latter decided that they were now worthy to see and subsequently to shew others the emu *illpangura*, the same which they subsequently passed on to me for tea, flour, sugar, and tobacco. The essential thing, however, is that the *urumbula* or *inkura* is a more elaborate collective presentation of these *illpanguras*. Some special ceremonial objects are added, others are more accentuated, but it is the same thing on a larger scale. Or we may invert this order of reasoning and say that the *illpangura* ceremony is a chip of the great *inkura*. This *illpangura* is the same thing that is called an *andatta* or down ceremony by Spencer and Gillen. This is also what my informants refer to when they speak of two kinds of *mbatjal katiuma*, the magical and the commemorative.

It is by far the most frequent kind of totemic ceremony, for whereas the magical *mbatjal katiuma* can only be performed effectively at a certain rock, this can and is performed anywhere, provided there is anybody who would like to see it and give *tjaurilja* for it. The person who gives the *tjaurilja* is always a young man, and the fact that he is allowed to see it, is a part of his initiation. If there is no *inkura* taking place for some time in that part of the tribe, the young man may complete his education merely by various *andatta* ceremonies instead of one *urumbula*.

We have now found that the natives themselves distinguish the following types of ritual [4]:

1. *Ltata* (*pulapa*).
2. *Wuljankura* (*inma*).
3. *Tarapulja*.
4. *Illpangura* or *churunga andatta* (*kuntanka wamulu*).
5. *Mbatjal katiuma* (*paluni*).
6. *Utnitjija*.
7. *Mutupurka*.
8. *Inkura* (*nankuru*).[5]
9. *Ngallunga*.

[4] The words in brackets are Luritja.

[5] I shall discuss the *inkura* in another paper.

No. 7 is a rain ceremony closely related to the *utnitjija*, but not called an *utnitjija* by my informants because there are no shields and, as their knees get tired in making the rain, they call it a *mutupurka* (i.e. tired knee). The *tarapulja* is some sort of a transition-phase between 1 and 2, and the subsequent forms. The *utnitjija* is essentially the same as the *mbatjal katiuma*, only considerably ' bigger ' in the eyes of the natives. Only the very old men will perform the animal multiplication with the ceremonial shield.

In attempting to explain these rites we must begin with some special features of the performance present in the one case and absent in the others. In 1 and 2 the women are present, in fact incestuous intercourse is the aim of the performance. At all the others (No. 3 remains uncertain) the women are not allowed to be present on pain of death. Their distinctive feature is the eagle hawk down (*andatta* or *wamulu*), which covers the body of the performers. We can only understand the significance of this if we know how it is stuck on the body. The glue that is used is blood, and this blood is derived from the subincised penis. In order, however, to make this blood squirt forth, the penis must be in a state of semi-erection. This aim is attained by a form of onanism that is peculiar to subincised people ; they pull away at the skin where it has been cut open at the urethra till the erection takes place. Then they use a little stick or a tiny stone knife to prick the subincision opening and the blood gushes forth either to cover their own body or that of another man who kneels down to receive it.

This is a fundamental feature of all *andatta* ceremonies (1, 5, 6, 7). While some of these ceremonies are connected with initiation, that is, with the official beginning of sexual life for the young men, others aim at multiplying the totem species.

The remarkable thing about Aranda ritual is the transparency of the secondary mechanism. It is all so simple. We have two types of group activities. In the one case a dance followed by incestuous intercourse. In the other case onanism followed by a dance—with a strict taboo on women. To make matters still clearer, the symbol of the second group of ceremonies is the *andatta* or birds' down. The word also means flower and the *andatta* is one of the mediums through which the child gets into the mother. When a man returns home from a *wamulu* ceremony, my Luritja informants told me, he will have intercourse with his wife in the camp and the *wamulu* (down) will fly from his body into the woman. Thus a child is conceived, and the

child's totem is determined in this case not by locality but by the ceremony which preceded coitus.

While one sub-group of these down-ceremonies gives us an additional clue to its original nature, by being linked up with ceremonial mutilations of the penis, the distinctive feature of the second group is its alleged aim—a multiplication of the totem species. But tradition tells us that this is due to secondary elaboration. Originally human beings were born when the *altjiranga mitjina* (ancestors) performed these ceremonies. Something of the kind still takes place (or I should say took place twenty years ago) at Arolbmolbma.

According to the story, a *yirramba* (honey ant) woman lived on the top of the hill. She sang and painted herself, put on the ceremonial decorations. This was her song: 'Bush with milky stalk . . . Make yourself look pretty . . . He likes it, make yourself look pretty'. The bush with a milky stalk is one of the female sex symbols because of its milky juice which represents the great quantity of semen (i.e. vaginal fluid) which a female has. Whereupon her father, the big *inkata* of the *yirramba*, also decorated himself and 'sang' his own body as follows: 'Sugar bush boughs hold it hard . . . Adam's apple hold it hard'.

The Adam's apple is the seat of sexual excitation, a penis displaced upwards. The boughs he holds probably refer to something that he actually did according to the legend, but not mentioned by old Renana; probably he held tight to the bush on the hill. As the second line has the verb *manapanama* (holding hard) in connection with the Adam's apple and, moreover, as his daughter in the first song was symbolized by another bush, we may go so far as to suppose that the bush means the person. After this singing they met, cohabited and became *churunga*.

The local chief showed me the impression made in the rock where the girl lay on her back and the father knelt before her in the normal Aranda coitus position. When a man wants to get sexually excited, he will kneel in the same position as the father knelt and stick the porcupine grass into the rock or rather into the earth beside the rock. He will also rub the rock with a stone and then the unborn children will come out of the rock and incarnate themselves in their prospective mothers. The place where they rub the rock is called Njirala-nama (they two cohabit) and on closer questioning the father was said to be her *kada lara* (half-father), that is, father's own brother.

Although this clause is evidently an effort to mitigate the immorality of the myth, it cannot be doubted that the man who

kneels at this rock is performing a sort of fantastic onanism and working himself up into sexual excitement by thinking of the father who had intercourse with his daughter there.

We see here ritual in its incipient form, as yet hardly differentiated from onanism, or symbolical coitus: the man sticks the porcupine grass (penis) into the earth (vagina).

Something similar takes place at Iwinjiwinji. The following myth belongs to a group of people of mixed Aranda and Luritja descent. An Iwinkiwinji (Mosquito man) came from Pangatuma (Dry grass-hit). He came round to Akantjirkni (ceremonial pole) where he stuck the end of the ceremonial pole into the earth. Then he came to Yutarindama (porcupine grass-sleep). He made a windbreak of porcupine grass and went to sleep there. Then he came to a place called Inimba (Semen). He saw two *alknarintja* (eyes turn away) women urinating there and his semen poured out. One of the women was his *noa* (wife) and the other his *mara* (mother-in-law). He followed the track made by the urine and came back to Pangatuma. He saw the place where the women made their camp. Then, still following the track, he came to a water-hole. Finally he caught the women and had intercourse with them, first with the wife and then with the mother-in-law. Then they went together to Aningi-tjanpa (walk-step) to Itchiti-tchita (a kind of bush) and finally to Iwinjiwinji (Mosquito) where they all three became *churunga*.

In the song connected with this myth the cool ground and cool breeze are equivalent in the torrid heat of Central Australia to sunshine or happiness in the literature of colder countries, and the women are said to be *erooma* in the song, shivering, trembling with sexual excitement because of the Mosquito man. Readers of my *Australian Totemism* may perhaps remember that I interpreted quivering in totemic ritual as a coitus movement. The ritual name for this quivering is *alknantama* and here Mulda, Aldinga and Yirramba Banga stated in so many words that *alknantama* was *erooma* = the ritual quivering, a quivering for coitus. The *mbatjal katiuma* connected with this myth and song is performed in order to stimulate the libido, to make people ' randy '. They rub little stones on a rock and ' sing ' the stones while they do so. The aim and result of this *mbatjal katiuma* is to make people cohabit with anybody disregarding all taboos. It is performed at an *inkura* (*nankuru*) with other ceremonies.

What have we learned at Arolbolbma and Iwinjiwinji? We have been told that the quivering movement, the *alknantama* of all down-

ceremonies, is the quivering with erotic desire. We have seen ritual developing from coitus ; we have even been told the reason why the female partner is absent ; incest lurks behind repression. Onanism is due to the fact that the id is faithful to the mother, prefers phantasy to reality, the memory of the once-beloved to the girl who might be her substitute. Now we understand how a *ltata* came to be transformed into an *andatta* ceremony. The males of the higher mammals perform a *ltata* in the rutting season, before they fecundate their females. They do not put on a *kutara*, but they develop manes, antlers or other secondary sexual characters. The sounds they produce at this period may very well have been the prehuman forerunners of the *ltata* song. But the rutting period of each season means a breaking-up of the horde. The young males fight with their sire for their mothers and sisters ; they kill or are killed by the old male. If the old and the young are to live beside each other in one group, a part of the genital libido must become deflected, i.e. a boy must love not only his mother but also his father, and love in a new way without genital detension. When the original Œdipus struggle of the rutting season has become transformed into a totemic ceremony, coitus degenerates into *ritual onanism in the presence of the fathers instead of the mothers.* That this state of things is unnatural is clearly indicated by the vehement effort with which it is maintained ; any woman coming to the ceremonial ground would be killed. At the same time mankind has evolved the concept of ethical value, for the more remote a ceremony is from the original *ltata* phase, the stricter the taboo on women becomes, the '*greater*' it is in the eyes of the natives. The vehement sadism of the prohibition and its connection with a standard of values are sure signs that the super-ego is in action. The super-ego is the reflection of the child's mental image of his father, and in the ceremony the performers act the part of fathers.

I had been working with the Aranda and Luritja for some time when I first heard them mentioning a new word : *ngallunga. Ngallunga* I gathered was a type of ritual that was bigger, i.e. more sacred than all the others. Yes, they had not told Spencer or Strehlow anything about it, as *ngallunga* was a word too sacred to be pronounced in the presence of an unintiated. Later on it turned out that this applied to Strehlow only, as the *ngallunga* is a specifically Luritja feature of ritual. Among the southern Luritja (Nguntiangunta, Mularatara, Pitchentara) the ceremonies of circumcision and subincision are always connected with a special series of totemic ceremonies. These are the

dramatization of the wanderings of certain kangaroo and euro ancestors who are responsible for having instituted circumcision and subincision in the mythical period. Among the northern Luritja (Ngatatara, Yumu) and their neighbours, we have kangaroo, euro and sand-wallaby as *ngallunga* myths and ceremonies. On the whole the function of these ceremonies is the same as that of the *tjilpa* ritual among the Aranda, but the Aranda have not got a special name to distinguish *tjilpa* ceremonies from others.

According to the Ngatatara, two kangaroos came from Ilpila (tea tree bush). They were two brothers, and one of them was called Unami (Testicles) the other Yurgna (Semen). They came to a place where they took their teeth out and made a camp. Then they came to a place where they got some water but it came out in a very narrow stream. Then they arrived at Matati (pubic tassel), so called because here they first put on a pubic tassel. After this they came to a place called Kuna (excrements). They defecated and went on to Kulurkna (another word for testicles). They pulled their testicles out and put them back again. Then they came to Para (Penis) where they saw their own penis and made the first subincision. They had to lie down there because they felt sore. Semen first cut Testicles, and then Testicles cut Semen. They came to a second place where they defecated and then to another where they urinated. Then they arrived at Mullatchitchi (opening veins). They opened their veins, were soaked in blood and afterwards one vein burst and had to be tied up with string. Then they came to a place called Tjiwiriwiri (noise made by urinating through subincision hole) and here they urinated. Finally, they arrived at Putati (Big hill) went into a cave there and became *churunga* (*kuntanka*).[6]

Nobody will deny that it is highly suggestive when we find the heroes of what is the most sacred Luritja ritual called Testicles and Semen. The myth itself consists, beside the usual geographical setting, of two series of episodes. In one series something is taken out and put back again (teeth, testicles). In another something pours out such as excrements, urine, blood. Taken together we have a description of the genital act. Urine and excrement show the amphimixis of erotic zones leading to genitality, as in Ferenzci's genital theory, while the taking out of the testicles (alleviated in the myth by putting them back) indicates castration anxiety as a corollary of coitus. Whilst

[6] This is an abbreviated version of the myth.

all such place names as heart, teeth, testicles are explained by the taking of the heart, etc., out of the body, when we come to the place called Penis, circumcision and sub-incision are substituted, thus showing the castration significance of this ritual.

Another *ngallunga* story was the theme of the Pitchentara initiation ceremony we held at Bosun's Hole. A group of Wanpingi (name of a bird) *tukutita* (ancestors) started from a place called Wipupa-pari (Penis-hit). This is south of the big Pando (Lake Amadeus). Some of them went to Tjeen (Flatus) after having crossed the lake going northwards. They did what is indicated in the place name and went further north to Kumupduru (Black flat rock or urine flat rock). They put on charcoal and performed a *wamulu* (= *andatta*) ceremony which we saw (August 1, 1929). They whirled the bull-roarers on the hill and the women were told that the men were catching kangaroos. Then they came to Kantangu tjikila (with cheek drinking) and as they drank they saw each other's subincision hole and told each other 'You have a crooked *aralta*' (= subincision opening). Then they came to Ilpilta (tea tree bush). But this is only the name that is used when women are present, the real word being Minalana (Open the veins). They opened their veins here and went on to Kuruwakanta (Spear the eyes). Eyes is another euphemism for penis and the real name is Kaluwakanta (Spear the penis).

They speared their penis with little pieces of wood, as shown in the ceremony and made the blood gush forth. Then they came to Ultutara (with a hole), found fresh kangaroo excrements and went around the place to catch the kangaroo. After further wanderings they came to a place called Piki (muddy water). A carsia bush and a little swamp arose where they stood up to perform a *wamulu* ceremony, which was also enacted as part of the initiation ritual. Here some of the Wanpingi went into the ground and came out in another country.

Their father had been following them all the way from Wipupa-pari, but his sons left him behind because he was too slow. He followed their track all the way and always found an empty camp. Finally he found them at another place called Flatus and here he killed them with his flatus. He poisoned them and himself also with the smell.

The ritual I witnessed and the song contain some further points of interest about their wanderings. The Wanpingi birds, who, we are told, were the mates of the kangaroo in the mythical period, are continually performing ceremonies in which they imitate the kangaroo. The place-name Wipupa-pari is explained in another ceremony where

EVERY CEREMONY BEGINS WITH ONANISM, BECAUSE THE BLOOD IS OBTAINED FROM THE SUBINCISED URETHRA. THE PENIS MUST BE IN ERECTION IN ORDER TO GET THE BLOOD EASILY FROM THE VEIN.

THE BLOOD TAKEN FROM THE SUBINCISED PENIS RUNS DOWN THEIR LEGS. THEY ARE TRYING TO STOP THE BLEEDING BY FUMIGATING THE PENIS WITH A FIRE-STICK.

TOTEMIC RITUAL—*NGALLUNGA* (p. 71).

To face p. 71.

the kangaroo father drives the young kangaroos with a stick. The stick represents his tail or really his penis. In association with this myth and cult, there is also a new type of *churunga* representing the *ngambu* or testicles of the kangaroo. At a place closely associated with Kuruwakanta, they performed the real *ngallunga*, i.e. they stood up in a row running backwards and throwing their penises upwards while the blood gushed forth from the subincision hole. This was the first thing the boy saw on the initiation ground and he was so frightened that he closed his eyes and thought : ' Now they have shewn me this, they will surely kill me '.

If we consider a well-known feature of Central Australian mythology, we soon discover that the Wanpingi story is only apparently in contradiction with the tradition according to which all *ngallunga* stories are kangaroo stories. Honey-ant people always eat honey ants ; yam people live on yams and kangaroo people hunt kangaroos. Therefore the birds who kill and imitate kangaroos must also be qualified as kangaroos, and the Old Man Kangaroo whom they are trying to kill all along is really identical with the Old Man who kills them and dies at the end of the story, i.e. with their father. The Old Man Kangaroo who has been driving them along with his penis.

The night after these ceremonies were performed old Piti-piti had a dream. He was a *tukutita* himself in the dream, one of the bird ancestors, and they started their wanderings from Tjeen, i.e. from the place where the father killed his sons. Most prominent of all the *tukutitas* with whom he goes is one who looks like Tankatu. Tankatu is his mother's sister's son whom he took care of after the father's death. He also initiated the boy and now that Tankatu is a grown man he provides his foster-father with meat. There is one distinctive feature of the *tukutitas* in the dream. They all wander about with their penis in erection.

The latent wish-fulfilment element of the dream is the same as that of the initiation ritual and of primeval society in general ; father and son wandering together though (or because) both of them have an erected penis. But in a deeper stratum—*post equitem sedet atra cura*. The old conflict lurks behind the harmony. Father and son start their journey from the place where a father and his sons mutually killed each other. The erotic journey of the *ngallunga* stories is fraught with difficulties. Testicles are taken out, blood spurts out of the penis, mutilations are performed on the penis. There is no coitus without castration anxiety. The *ngallunga* myth is a story of the sons who

killed their father and a father who killed his sons. What does the boy think when he sees this extraordinary performance ? Oh, now the fathers will kill me ! What is really done in the initiation ceremony is to apply a sort of cathartic abreaction method to the boy's castration anxiety by going back to its origin, the father who kills or castrates the son.

I have repeatedly been told that if a boy were not initiated something terrible might happen. He might become an *erintja*, i.e. devil, fly up into the air and kill and eat all the old men of the tribe. This is what the ritual must prevent, first by going as near to castrating the boy as may well be imagined (circumcision and subincision), and then by creating a basis of identification with the men. ' Don't cry ; your penis is now like mine, you are a man ', Kanakana said to the boy whom he had circumcized. The identification is again ambivalent. It is a *libido identification* based on the penis ; father and son both in erection, the mother absent. But it is also an identification on the basis of a common anxiety as if the elder man said to the young one : ' See we are both circumcized, we both have the castration complex '. The first scene witnessed by the boy is the *ngallunga*, the most essential part of the ceremony. *Ngallunga* means ' they two are friends ' i.e. the old and the young generation, father and sons. They are friends because both have the *aralta*. Now in the ritual song this subincision hole is called *kuna*, i.e. vagina, and the same word is also applied to the whole subincised penis.

It is as if the fathers were telling the sons : it is true that the women cannot be present, that you cannot have the mother ; but instead of that we offer a substitute ourselves, we have both a penis and a vagina ; you too will be like we are with a penis and a vagina. Like a boomerang we return to our starting-point : *ambi-sexuality is the cure that is prescribed against the Œdipus complex. A stream that rushes like a torrent to its goal is rendered harmless by a canal into which part of its waters flow ; what remains can go on flowing without threatening the stability of its shores.*

All *illpanguras* are chips from the great tree of initiation rites. Many *mbatjal katiumas* are intimately bound up with initiation. Thus it is difficult to draw a demarcation line between puberty rites and totemic rites. In the myths the ancestors are continually initiating the young men of their totem.

Since immemorial time, the process has been going on. Libido has been diverted from its direct incestuous and genital aim into new

channels. *The genito-fugal libido thus reinforcing the narcissistic cathexis of the ego, it has become possible for many males to live together in a horde* and for humanity to fight a more effective battle against the world in general. Thus the ego, like a skilful general fighting on two fronts, uses not only its own strength but also the forces of the id in its struggle with environment. But, as every analysis shews, the stand we can make against reality is based on the stand we could make against the father, and it is the deeds of the fathers and sons that are continually dramatized in ritual.

VI

THE PSYCHOLOGY OF THE CENTRAL AUSTRALIAN CULTURE AREA

It is not an easy task to arrive at a complete psychological understanding of even one single human being whom we may have been studying for years and who belongs to the same cultural environment as ourselves. The task increases in difficulty with the increasing scope and the decreasing facilities, for here we have a whole society instead of a single human being and we have not the analytical situation.

We should like to know more, but we do know something. And now, after having tackled the subject from three points of view, we feel justified in making a concentric attack and attempting to give a psychological explanation of Central Australian culture.

I. The Id

If compulsive repetition is the most primitive form of life, the Central Australian native certainly fits in with our mental picture of what should be called primitive. For hours and hours two boys would go on enumerating each other's lovers. The legends contain endless repetitions of geographical details. The old men are perfectly happy sitting in a circle and chanting the same two or three words of a long song. Perhaps they never get to the second line of the song. Psychoanalytical theory assumes that the repetition is closely connected with the death impulse. But as the death impulse can only be observed in its derived form as aggressiveness, we shall discuss it under that aspect and in connection with its allies as it appears in actual life, i.e. with various forms of libido, with the ego and the super-ego. I now propose to discuss the rôle played by the principal erotogenic zones in the sexual life and the character development of these tribes. In doing so we are overstepping the boundaries indicated by our headline (the id) but this seems to be unavoidable.

(a) *The Oral Zone*

The baby obtaining its nourishment and pleasure from the mother's breast is a natural starting point for our inquiries. In this original situation we find the nucleus of all further differentiations, comprising the many things that appear in later life as sexual customs (fore-

pleasure), as symbolism, as character development and as customary elements of tribal life.

The Central Australian child has the same start in life as his white brother or sister. You will observe it clinging to its mother's breast, belabouring it with its tiny fingers, pulling the nipples or using its teeth in a manner that cannot but be painful to the mother. The baby, of course, has no fixed hours for its meals, it will suck whenever it feels like it, and play about with the nipples when it has not had enough or when it cannot get anything. The Central Australian woman is a very good mother. She gives and never grudges. I have seen Tuma, who had a little baby of her own, offer her breast to Aldinga, a child of five who had been eating tinned meat and jam all day long in our kitchen.

No woman who has milk or even merely a breast to play with will refuse a child, and thus not only is frustration unknown but the child starts life in a happy state of communal motherhood. He can always get the nipple when he wants it and he is never weaned until he weans himself.

There is no sudden transition from the mother's milk to other food, but gradually he will not desire the milk any more.

Europeans always ask me whether the natives kiss in our way. Well, they have the *aruntjima*, a word that might be translated as kissing; yet it is hardly kissing in our sense of the word, for the compression of the lips is absent. The mother will touch her child with her lips, but she would not kiss it as we do. The boys will put their lips to a girl's vagina or anus, or put their fingers in and smell that, and also use their tongue, and all this would be called *aruntjima*. Adults are more or less ashamed of the cunnilingus. But then one day old Renana talked about a certain *altjiranga mitjina* (ancestor) who was trying to have intercourse with certain rat women. He thrust his stick into the ground where they were hiding and then pulled it out again. He licks the stick, thinking it had been in the woman's vagina. They all laughed in a knowing way and then admitted that people did use their tongue with the women.

Morica, a Yumu woman, declared that fellatio was very frequent. Passing on to forms of perversion which contain elements both of the oral and the anal, the behaviour of the children proved their existence. Their games were always about ' kissing,' ' smelling ', etc., the vagina and the anus, and one child at least among those who came to play was known to be always doing this with the girls. I have also seen a

boy of about two lifting the tail of a dog and kissing its anus. It is doubtful, however, whether perversions of this type in which the anus would be a condensed equivalent of nipple and vagina play any considerable part in adult life.

This leads us to another question. We ought to distinguish between two types of perversion. In one case we have a manifestation of what Freud calls polymorphous perverse sexuality, that is, an archaic phase of the libido. The child who kissed the dog's anus hardly did it because he was afraid of the vagina, but simply because the anus had not for him lost its original erotogenic value. It might be perhaps preferable not to call this a perversion at all, but simply anal or oral erotism. On the other hand we have cases in which the perversion is a regressive feature, in which the oral or anal becomes a substitute for the genital in consequence of castration anxiety.

In a certain sense every coitus is an abbreviated repetition of the development of the libido. In the initial pleasure situation we have the child at the mother's breast, till when the boy grows up the penis replaces the tooth as the tool with which he penetrates into the female. But in the fore-pleasure phase the mouth still retains its activity in the shape of a kiss. Now this is certainly not the orthodox form of fore-pleasure in Central Australia. The correct thing to do is for the man and the woman to rub their breasts together, that is, while the white boy and girl both repeat in the fore-pleasure phase what the child does at the beginning of life, the Australian boy and girl both do what the mother does and stimulate the nipple as erotogenic zone.

In dream-life and symbolism the significance of the oral zone is exactly the same as in our own culture.

The oral organization of the libido survives in symbolism. Ilpaltalaka dreamt of three men. Two of them gave her euro meat and one went up a hill. She goes on to tell me about the euro meat she ate when she first noticed that she had a child, and to talk about the man who goes up the hill. He was her husband's real brother (therefore also her husband) and best friend, and often gave her meat. The other two men are her uncles who used to feed her when she was a child. The hill contains the clue to the whole dream. It is the hill that leads to Mananganangа, the cave in which the babies lie waiting to be incarnated.

The dream tells the same story in two versions, and the old woman in her dream goes back to two different phase of her life. Her husband marries her again (gives her meat, ascends the hill) and they have a

child (Mananganganga). She is a little girl again, beloved by her uncle (father substitute), and gets euro meat. But the two are the same thing; euro meat means intercourse, for her first child was born after eating euro.

In language we find the same close connection. 'Raw' means also not sufficiently developed for coitus, 'cooked' means nubile, 'to eat' is the usual vulgar expression for coitus. Another symbolic way to express cohabitation is 'drinking the vagina'. Depitarinja dramatizes these feelings in his play, the toys representing himself are made to pull out the vagina of the toy that stands for the mother and to eat it.

A very important and difficult problem is that of character-formation. To make matters clearer we might perhaps distinguish three oral character types. The oral optimist, that is, the person who believes that there will always be somebody to give him what he wants, is a very different type from the oral sadist, i.e. the man who carries over the self-confidence and unbroken aggressiveness of the child into his relation to the world in general. The third type might be called the child who has never overcome the oral frustrations and the shocks of weaning and has consequently lost all faith in the world and always dreads or courts a repetition of that catastrophe.

In Central Australia, as elsewhere, food forms the bond of tribal solidarity. When Depitarinja caught a crow, he played at being chief and distributed it to his friends. It is well known that tribal life is regulated by two series of food rules, those of taboo and those of food distribution. The result of both series of regulations is to reserve the best food for the old men of the tribe. This food distribution is not merely a custom., not merely what the native ought to do, it is also part and parcel of his personality, it is what he actually and willingly does. Giving food to another person is the natural expression of good will. Whenever anybody occurred in a dream and I would ask the dreamer to tell me something about this person, the usual answer would be 'he was good to me, he always gave me food'. I should therefore think that the *oral optimist* type would be rather frequent and would roughly coincide with the oldest generation, the old *knaripatas* and *inkatas* of the tribe. Old Yirramba was certainly this kind of person. He would manage to get two or three breakfasts at Hermannsburg and confidently expected the *tjaurilja*, i.e. ceremonial food presents, which he got from me for his ceremonies.

It is also not difficult to ascertain the existence of the oral-aggressive

type. Look at the zest with which the children eat each other's lice or dig for witchetties, the love of the chase, the pleasure the young men take in tracking big game, and you cannot doubt that you see a happy people. The children of yielding mothers, and victorious in their struggle with Mother Nature, they drink the fresh blood of the game as they drank their mother's milk. When the adult boys after the *inkura* get seeds ground by the women and mixed with milk from the mother's breast, they are beginning adult life in the same spirit in which they begun life in general and confidently expect that their food-quest will always be successful. A boy of about seven, Jankitji, was acting as head of the family in Pukutiwara's absence and he could always manage to get a wallaby or some lizards to feed his mothers and brothers.

In the average young Australian native the aggressive impulses derived from the oral-sadistic attitude are transformed from id to ego strivings and are successfully utilized by the ego in its struggle with environment.

But, as we have said before, the Australian native has never undergone the trauma of being weaned. The children will go on sucking as long as they like and will easily get any other woman to let them do it if their own mother has no milk. Therefore there is no oral character of the pessimistic type in Central Australia and we have no eternal grumblers, nobody who is always being slighted or offended. They are frequent enough in Duau. The Australian native lives in an environment that can hardly be called favourable. Mother Nature is a fickle dame indeed in the desert ; sometimes she bestows with bounty, but if there is no rain for years she almost destroys her children. And yet nobody has ever heard that an Australian native feels anxious about to-morrow's meal. Facts might well justify such an attitude, but there is no basis for it in the libido development. With such yielding mothers, we are all heroes.

We have emphasized the fact that the Australian baby is treated with the utmost consideration on the part of the mother and can always get what it wants. And yet, the existence of anxiety connected with the oral function is undeniable. For young and old alike have a demon world and all these demons eat human beings. But whilst the demons most dreaded by the adults appear on the scene of action as children, the children's lore refers to giant demons, and a giant is precisely what the grown-up looks like to the child. Old Jirramba's account of the demon Patiri seems to indicate the mother-child relation

at the root of all these concepts. The Patiri are *erintja* [1] with long teeth and they bite human beings from the inside. They go into the baby with the mother's milk, and it is they who take the child from the mother to eat it. The mother cries in vain, the baby never comes back. One of the most dreaded ' *mamus* ' (demons) of the Jumu and Pindupi is called Ttjitji-ngangurpa (childlike). But the shape of this being as described by Urantukutu was not like a child, although we may interpret it as the anxiety-distorted projection of a child. It was only a head with no hair, big eyes and a big nose. Its body was quite smooth, like a white rock. A new-born child with its disproportionately large head and smooth white body—and yet something hard in its nature, something that penetrates into the mother.

Another group of supernatural beings is evidently a projection of the hostility felt by the adults regarding the infants. One of these is especially suggestive. His name is Mangu-kurata, that is ' eater of demons '. He is very thin and long, like a tree-trunk, and he has no anus. He lives near the Lake Amadeus and he eats *kukurpa mamus* and children. Another demon is called Tangara, that is ' big man '. This gentleman uses a throwing stick and has only one leg. When he is hungry, he cuts a piece of flesh out of his own leg and eats it. He can do so without any risk, for the flesh will grow again, just as the child keeps ' eating ' the mother's breast. It is the primary oral sadism of the child that gives us the clue to the whole complex of cannibalism and the demon world. After having identified the giant ogres as representatives of the father and mother imago, the question naturally arises: why should the child project the ever conceding mother as a cannibal being, since it never undergoes the frustration of its desires ? The answer is twofold. For one thing the statement that the infant suffers no frustration whatsoever must be understood *cum grano salis*. The young tyrant will go on torturing his long-suffering mother till at last she pushes him away.

On the other hand, the innate sadism or aggression of the infant alone suffices to explain anxiety. The ' cannibal ' child introjects a cannibal mother, thus forming the primitive super-ego discovered by Melanie Klein. These primary identifications are of a sadistic type, no matter what the real attitude of the parents may be, because their nature reflects that of the infant. It is a reflection, but scarcely a formative agency ; it gives rise to anxiety, but not to character forma-

[1] Demon, spelt *oruncha* by Spencer and Gillen.

tion. For the introjected cannibal parent is projected into space and gives rise to the world of ogres.

But just as Freud has shown that in paranoia the projection is based on truth, on an unconscious understanding of unconscious contents, so here we find that the adult has really a strong tendency to kill, to eat and destroy the ' cannibal child '. We have seen the representatives of this tendency in the demon world, but we have not mentioned the fact that the adults actually realize this aggressiveness and themselves do what the demons are supposed to do, i.e. they kill and eat their own children. Pukutiwara's wife Tankai had killed four of her children and each had been eaten by another brother. Thus Urukula, Jankitji, Aldinga and a fourth child whose name was not mentioned, because he was dead, had each of them eaten one of their little brothers or sisters. Napana had given premature birth, and the embryo was eaten by her and her two daughters. The two daughters ate the arms, legs and the head and it was believed that this would make them grow up quickly. When the women were questioned about this custom, they would say that hunger or ' flesh hunger ' was the reason why they killed and ate their own children. The men took a more theoretical point of view and said that every second child was eaten in order to give the others double strength. In these different explanations we see the difference between the two sexes, for while the women are swayed by ego and id reasons (hunger, hunger for their own flesh), a man accounts for what he does by a theory, as a concession to his super-ego. Both explanations are on the lines of oral ambivalence ; the mother loves (or hates) her child so vehemently that she eats it, and the elder brother not only wishes to destroy but really eats his younger rival, at the same time identifying himself with his victim and thereby gaining double strength.

As regards food in social customs, the connection with the oral zone in infantile life is of a more complicated nature. These customs are all concerned with food distribution and show what, at first sight, looks like an altruistic attitude on the part of the individual. If I am a Central Australian native and a very good hunter, that is a good thing for my father or my father-in-law if I have one. Food distribution is regulated by definite rules and the best part, the tail and backbone of the kangaroo with the guts and the fat, go to the father or father-in-law. The young man who is ' eating ' the daughter, i.e. the female belonging to the older man, is appeasing the unconscious hostility of the latter by giving him something else to eat instead. We must not

forget that the father-in-law is the circumcizer and in this ceremonial rôle has replaced the father as original castrator. The father-in-law as a representative of the father-imago is a rival in love-life, and this castration anxiety is appeased by substituting the oral for the genital, food for woman. This is confirmed by an observation of Spencer's which shows that anxiety is at the back of these food rules. For a man must not only supply his father-in-law with food, he must also take care that the latter should not see what he is eating lest he should spoil it by 'projecting his smell into it'. If this happened the man would get sick in consequence.[2]

Old Jirramba told me one day that it was a very bad thing to dream of raw meat. If such a thing happened, it meant that an *erintja* was coming to destroy them and they would have to shift the camp. He once dreamt that he killed a kangaroo and when he sat down to eat it the meat was raw. The scene of the dream is the hill of Ulara. Ulara is a water-totem place and his father-in-law was chief of that country. As the father-in-law is the man to whom he must give the kangaroo meat, we can easily interpret this raw meat dream. The latent content of the dream is that he is killing his father-in-law (father), and it is this latent content that calls forth the super-ego anxiety as represented by the *erintja*. What follows fits into the same line of thought, for they move the camp, which is exactly what they do when somebody dies.

All Central Australian tribes regard certain kinds of food as taboo for the young men, which is the same thing as saying that they are reserved for the old men of the tribe. Wapiti, as representing the Ngatatara group of Luritja-speaking tribes, began the list of tabooed animals with the *inarlinga* or ant-eater (echidna). The women may not eat it because their breast will not grow, and the young man because he will have no whiskers. The mutta, a kind of rat, is taboo to both sexes of the younger generation; if they ate it, the women would bleed too much when menstruating and the men would bleed too much from the subincision hole.

The Pindupi and Jumu begin the enumeration with the same animal. It is taboo for the young boy because when the subincision is made, his penis will be too hard to cut and for the same reason the snake is also taboo. One kind of witchetty grub is taboo because the boy's penis would swell to an inordinate size after circumcision. It is

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[2] Spencer and Gillen: *The Arunta*, II., 491.

not necessary to enumerate any further data, for we can condense the whole thing by two statements: (1) The *inarlinga* seems to be the most important taboo, as it is always mentioned first in the list. (2) Disobedience of the food taboo rules is always followed by punishment on the genital organ. Cases that seem to be an exception, such as the whiskers of the boys or the breasts of the women, are only symbolic equivalents for the penis. Now there is good reason why the *inarlinga* should always be the first taboo that crops up in the memory of my informants. According to a well-known myth the *inarlinga* was an ancestor who had a peculiar way of performing the ceremony of initiation. He used to cut the penis right off and thus kill the boys. In other words, the boys refrain from eating the best food on account of their castration anxiety. Oral gratification is really a substitute for genital; instead of relinquishing the women, the young men appease the anger of the older generation by giving them the best food. We can learn, at any rate, one lesson from the *inarlinga*. Institutions which look as if they were eminently rational in their effects may be derived from quite irrational beginnings, for the food supply of the elders is ensured by the castration anxiety of the younger people.

(b) *The Anal and Urethral Zones*

We shall now attempt to give an account of native behaviour with regard to the excretory functions. If somebody wants to urinate at night, the usual thing would be to leave the wurley. But they don't go very far, and if they are sleepy or if the nights are cold, they will just urinate in the hut where they are lying and cover the wet sand very superficially with a layer of dry sand. They will do the same even with their excrements. The people are assembled every day at Hermannsburg to get their rations from the Mission. They eat their soup sitting around, and what will the women do? They just urinate into the sand while they eat. They do it very skilfully. First they scratch a little hole in the sand with their toe, then they urinate into the hole and cover it up with the same foot. Or I might see them in our own kitchen working for us or talking to my wife and the urine trickling down their leg. Another scene of a similar nature. We are returning from a ceremony and Lelil-tukutu stops for a moment to talk to us. While talking he would urinate and not even attempt to hide his action by turning his back on us. The frequency of urination in connection with the ceremonies was altogether remarkable. There was a little more shame in connection with defecation; but Pukutiwara

defecated in the presence of my wife and of his own wives, only turning his back on the spectators. There was absolutely no shame in talking about the subject, and Kanakana would ask me whether my wife had gone to urinate or to defecate, meaning whether she would be back in a minute or whether we should have to wait for her.

Anthropologists who know a little but not too much about psychoanalysis usually fail to understand the distinction between an anal-erotic and an anal character. A person for whom the nates play an important part in fore-pleasure would be what we call an anal-erotic individual. We should expect such a man to desire women with a large posterior, perhaps also to indulge in coitus *a tergo* or *per rectum* or in other erotic actions connected with the anus. The biologist will tell us that the vagina was differentiated from the anal opening in the course of evolution. We should therefore regard such a mode of erotic behaviour as archaic, if it is not of a regressive nature, i.e. if the anus is not merely a substitute for the vagina.

In the paper on Sexual Life I described the beauty ideal of the Aranda and Luritja. There was no more constant feature in all these descriptions than the demand for large nates. With regard to coitus *a tergo*, this was once supposed, on the basis of very unreliable information, to have been the general *modus cœundi* of the Australian native. Dr. Basedow, in a paper full of valuable information,[3] has eliminated this scientific fable. But it would be going too far to assert that coitus *a posteriori* was never practised or that it is only a recent custom due to white influence. In one of the folk-tales related by a Matuntara man, a woman is pushed along a gap right into a cave by the penis inserted *a posteriori*. That coitus *in anum* exists to-day as a homosexual practice among young boys is absolutely certain, though whether it enters into adult and heterosexual love life, I do not know. Language, however, gives us a clue of great importance in this connection. *Atna* in Aranda and *kunna* in Luritja mean both the anus and the vagina, and thus we have what may be regarded as a philological proof of a biological theory.[4]

Considering the whole evidence at my disposal, I should be inclined to say that the anus is certainly an erotogenic zone with the Central

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[3] 'Subincision and Kindred Rites of the Australian Aboriginal'; *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, 1927, p. 153.

[4] *Atna altjura* (hole) is the anus, *atna keltja* (slit) the vagina, if you wish to be exact.

Australian aboriginal, but not to such a degree that it could in adult life take the place of the vagina. His behaviour in this respect is absolutely normal, by which I mean that the anus, though it is an erotogenic zone of independent significance in infantile life, loses this importance in the pre-puberty period and figures only as a factor in fore-pleasure. In infantile life I think that beside the polymorphous libidinal disposition, we have also reason to suppose that true perversions exist in connection with the anal zone.

An anal character is something very different from an anal-erotic individual. In the love life of a true anal character all reference to the anal and excremental will be highly taboo. He is very regular in his habits, and very clean regarding his person. All objects of his environment, all his belongings, are of high value to him and he is loath to part with any trifle. In fact, he is nearly always what we should call stingy. He is the sort of person who thinks far ahead and will try to economize for the future. This type of character is frequently associated with obsessional neurosis, and has therefore been studied very thoroughly by psycho-analysts. In analysis we can go back to the very roots of this kind of behaviour. We find that these individuals would in infant life offer every resistance to the efforts made by their surroundings to regulate their excretory functions, and would do their utmost to keep their faeces back, partly because they regarded these as valued parts of their own person and partly to annoy the mother or nurse. When other children have already acquired the customs that are characteristic of civilization, they will continue to soil themselves, and to undergo great shocks to their narcissism in consequence. Finally, they go to the other extreme. Instead of soiling themselves, they become extraordinarily cleanly. The irregularity in defecation is replaced by a ceremonial punctiliousness, an exaggerated regularity in all their doings. In this connection *time* replaces the fecal matter and they save time instead of money. On the whole this character-formation is typical of our own civilization.

Now the Aranda is the very opposite of all this. He has absolutely no notion of time, one day is as good as another. He will let the flies cover his face or other dirt collect anywhere on his body and never trouble to wipe it off. He loves water ; a swim and a good cool drink mean happiness. But he has never thought of washing. Many things that seem disgusting to us do not trouble him in the very least. An old woman was trying to get some water for a white man. It was a small water hole in a rock not bigger than an average bath tub. She

slipped on the rock and fell right into the water. But that made no difference; she just dipped the glass in between her legs and thought it was quite all right. A baby may mess itself, and its mother too, with its faeces. She does not mind, but brings us the little thing just as it is. Far from being stingy, the Aranda is the most generous person in the world, who will take more pleasure in giving than in the object itself. Even when under the influence of European civilization, he will never have a care for the morrow. You can tell your Aranda boy or girl as often as you like that he is to warn you when new supplies of flour have to be ordered; they will never do it; they cannot understand anybody wanting to do anything else than satisfy his immediate hunger. Wandering about the bush, one often picks up a perfectly good boomerang. The owner has simply thrown it away because he is tired of it. He will then make a new one and the loss of time and labour will not trouble him in the least. We shall therefore come to the conclusion that there is no contribution of the anal libido towards character formation in Central Australia.

Erotic sensations are also associated with the urethral functions. In songs, myths and in reality the smell of urine excites the sexual passion. Just like the children of the white race, the children of the desert regard urine as an equivalent of seminal fluid.

The contribution of the urethral impulse to character-formation seems to be of no great significance in civilization. Ambition has been regarded as derived from this source, as a sort of tendency to pour out and show off. In Central Australia, however, character-formation shows considerable formal analogies to the urethral impulse. For one thing we may perhaps interpret this tendency to give without limit not merely as an absence of the anal sphincter function, but also as due to a character trait formed on an urethral basis. The showing off in the ceremonies might also be partly of urethral origin, though in both cases urethral would also mean seminal. For the essential feature of the ritual is after all an outpour of one's own blood, and the blood used for this purpose is derived from the subincised urethra. I also noticed that the frequency of urination was much increased during and after the ceremony. A peculiar game is sometimes practised after the ceremony. One man shouts to the other '*Kamuru tjina* (your uncle foot) *watawara* (long),' and the other must answer immediately, '*Kalu watawara*' (penis long). If he does not give this answer, the other man beats him or he urinates into his hand and makes him throw it into his mouth.

(c) *Phallic Erotism and the Œdipus Complex*

The infantile unification of erotogenic zones in the phallus has been called a phallic organization by Freud. The difference between the phallic and the genital is that in the phallic organization the phallus is regarded as a weapon which penetrates into the womb, and there is more libido concentrated on the act than on the object. This type of organization is so intimately bound up with the Œdipus complex and onanism that we shall discuss these three topics in conjunction with one another. If we compare the actual behaviour of the Pitchentara baby with the alleged behaviour of the demons, we notice a curious analogy. All the demons are supposed to penetrate into the body of human beings and cause pains in the inside, and the child actually behaves as if it were trying to open the mother's body, to tear it to pieces and to penetrate into the inside. According to Aranda belief a man may *arelama* (bewitch by incantation) a woman so as to make her pregnant. The child that is born in consequence of this incantation is not really a child, it is a demon with long teeth. And the moment it is born, it looks back at the mother. The mother dies and the demon-child disappears.

This description is but a slightly veiled projection of the underlying id content; the child is the demon with long teeth, trying to kill its mother by going into her—not by coming out. In the case of Depitarinja, his many attempts to ' shoot ' the representatives of the mother-imago and his phantasies of pulling the vagina out and eating it are eloquent testimonies to this phase of development.

This relatively happy situation of mother and child is soon bound to be disturbed by a discovery. The child notices that there is a rival on the scene, a powerful being who claims the attention of the mother, and it begins to hate and dread the father. The cover-memories produced by Depitarinja are quite clear. The first thing he remembers about the mother is that she gives him (goat's) milk, and about the father that he chases the boy for having cut his sister (mother) with his knife (= tooth, penis). In his games the snake is always trying to get into the maternal breast or vagina and frequently gets punished for it. In folklore we find the same situation. The *bankalanga* have killed and eaten the parents of a boy. They adopt him as their foster-child and he grows up in the belief that he is the son of the female *bankalanga*. The male *bankalanga* he never sees, for there is a partition in the hut, behind which the ' father ' lives. But one day he discovers his presence and in his rage he burns the hut and his

foster-parents. I think we may safely trust the boy himself to know who his parents are. The story merely relates how the discovery of the existence of the father transforms objects of love into objects of hate, parents into man-eating ogres, yet in such a way that the parents are still contained in the ogres by whom they have been eaten.

In all the three preceding papers we have spoken about onanism, which evidently plays an important rôle in everyday life and ritual. The onanistic ritual at Arolbmolbma and Iwinjiwinji shows that Œdipus phantasies are the contents and the raison d'être of their onanism. In playing with the children I was also able to get irrefutable proofs of Melanie Klein's view, viz. that onanistic phantasies were the stuff that games are made of. As to the contents of these phantasies, a folk-tale gives us full information.

Once upon a time there was a *malpakara* (amorous character in folk-tales) who lived in a cave and had a little stick. With this little stick he used to hit the ground to accompany his singing. When he did this, a great many *alknarintja* girls came out of the rock and they would dance round him. When they came a bit nearer he tried to catch them, but as soon as he embraced one of them she disappeared. His penis stood up and he ejaculated. Then the narrator modified the story and said that he was really hitting the earth with his erect penis, for which he substituted a stick only when the *alknarintja* girls became visible.

Onanism is therefore connected with the unconscious incest phantasies, since we have shown beyond the possibility of a doubt that the *alknarintja* is the mother. With onanistic incest phantasies one would expect to find that the castration threat would be directed against onanism. But this would be a mistake. Nobody objects to the onanism of the children, and I have often observed Tankai playing with the penis of her son Aldinga. The existence of castration threats was also denied, yet I rather think that they have been repressed and thus disappeared from the memory of my informants. The children while playing about in a group round me, would often call out to each other: 'I will pull your *kalu* (penis), your *ngambu* (testicles) out.' They must have heard this from their fathers, that is, in folk-lore, and they retaliate in a similar way.

Once upon a time there was a *bankalanga* who lived with his little grandsons. They went to hunt wallaby, and in the evening they all came back into the camp. He had huge testicles, as big as a pumpkin. The boys played about with the testicles, throwing them to the ground

and lifting them up again. He kept saying: 'Look out boys, keep away from the *ngambu*, you might crush them.' When he was asleep, they pulled at the *ngambu* and it stretched a very long way. One of them got a stick and hit his testicles. Then he woke up and gave chase to the boys. As they went along, the boys pulled the testicles always further away. He tried to hit them but they ran past him between his legs. Others hung on to the testicles and kept rolling them along. They ran into a big cave with the testicles. One of them hid at the entrance, and when the Old One came up, he hit him across the forehead with his stick and killed him. Then they burnt the body and broke the testicles to pieces. This phantasy of castrating the father was narrated with very great pleasure. The same hostility against the father, against the man who usurps the mother's love, survives in old Yirramba's *leltja* (avenger, enemy) dream.

'A man came from Ulpatjinta with a *tjimbili* (magic stick used by a sorcerer to kill). He was a very tall man and walked like a *leltja*. He had a new shield, a spear and a spear thrower. He went southwards towards Arequa and I followed him. He was painted with charcoal and *andatta* (eagle hawk feathers or down). Near the creek at Arequa he stopped to drink some water. With his big spear and with the *tjimbili* under his elbow he came to Ljalpa (Malee tree) and there he went up a hill to Ungulla (water-hole). Then he came down again, always looking for a track, and I was following him all the time. Then the *leltja* came to a place called Erultja. Here he put grass into the water and drank it. I was behind him, not far. Then the *leltja* came to a place called Polta (neck), where he found a lot of *ngulpa* (pitcheri). Then he went to Ndunguntua (rock-hole). He sat beside the fire there the whole night without sleeping. Instead of sleeping, he decorated himself with *andatta* and rubbed his paint on a stone to paint the *tjimbili* red. Early next morning he passed a place called Arkaiana (a small bird). Two men were sleeping there near a big fire and the *leltja* went round looking at them. These were the two men he was looking for. He takes the *tjimbili* out of the bag, paints it, kneels down and the bone goes into the breast of one of the men and comes out of the other breast. I came up and saw the man bleeding from the mouth. His friend woke up and he "nursed" the bleeding man. Early in the morning the man died. Two women were there and they mourned for the two men. There was great wailing in the camp and nobody thought of pursuing the kangaroos, although they seemed to be very plentiful in the country. The women and the man dug a hole

in the ground and buried him. Now the *leltja* " boned " the second man and the two women had to bury him. The two women then went away to Ilpalinja, crying all the way. The *leltja* followed them and I followed the *leltja's* track. At Ilpalinja there was a big mob of people all rushing about and crying for the dead men. The *leltja* slept in the dry bush outside and then he " boned " a big *inkata* (chief) called *Kura* (Bandicoot). They were all wailing because of his death and they buried him. I woke up.'

The dreamer witnesses a nocturnal scene, for the ' *leltja* ' is a much dreaded apparition connected with the night. In one of the scenes emphasis is put upon the fact that the *leltja* did not sleep, but spent the night doing something else. In the other scene the *leltja* sees two men sleeping at the camp-fire. The association connected with the place Ilpalinja may throw some light on the latent contents of the dream. At Ilpalinja the *inkura* ceremonies (last phase of initiation) were held and he was an initiate at these ceremonies. This *inkura* was arranged when Spencer and Gillen were in the country. Ceremonies belonging to various places were mixed up at that *inkura*, and one of them was the showing of the *mbiljirkara*, the two *churungas* representing father and son bound together with hairstring. Instead of *mbiljirkara* he also uses the expression ' *erkurindja* ' and this means stuck together, especially in coitus. I think therefore that we are justified in regarding the dream as representing the primal scene. In the text we find two versions of the latent content. (1) Instead of sleeping, the *leltja* sits beside the fire and paints himself. (2) The *leltja* does something to the two sleeping men, he kills them.

Now the conventional attitude of the Central Australians with regard to children and the coitus of the parents is about the same as our own. They wait till the child is asleep or rather till he is supposed to be asleep. In the dream the child as *leltja* says: ' I was awake the whole night ' and again, ' the so-called sleeping of the two at the fire made me feel like a *leltja*, made me want to kill them '.

In order to prove this interpretation we must show that the dreamer is the *leltja*, that the dream is connected with an infantile experience, and finally that the two men sleeping beside the fire really represent father and mother. There can hardly be any doubt as to the identity of the dreamer with the *leltja*, for he follows in the *leltja's* footsteps. It is easy to see the reason for this duplication of the dreamer; in his own person he is the child who sees the events and as *leltja* the son who wants to kill the father for cohabiting with the mother. The

connection with the infantile past is confirmed by what looks like a cover memory. For the dream starts from a place called Ulpatjinta, and he tells me that when he was a little boy there was a *ltata* at Ulpatjinta. The boys were dancing and there were many girls there. The old women brought them yams and his mother was one of the old women who came to feed the boys. The *ltata*, which ends in an illicit love affair in the bush, and his own mother feeding him with yam, point directly to the primal scene. The *leltja* was an Ilpirra ; he himself is one of the northern Aranda who are regarded as half Ilpirra by the rest of the tribe. Another series of associations indicates that the ceremonies are a sublimated form of coitus, for at Ljalpa, at Erultja, at Polta, at Ndungantua and at Ngamara he saw various *churunga*, *illpangura* and *inkura* performances. At Ljalpa and Erultja his father was one of the performers. He also tells me that the first man who was ' boned ' in the dream was a man called Ragata (mouth), a very big, hairy fellow, a half-caste ! He was always ' boning ' other men, in fact he killed his own wife with this same magic. Like the dreamer this old Ragata was a Yirramba (honey ant) and he was his (tribal) *knia* (father). Thus we find the son as murderer (*leltja*) of his father. The murder is justified by what the son sees ; the father projecting the ' bone ' into the mother. The description in the dream of how the bone enters the breast of one of the men might well be the representation of the child's perception of the primal scene, perceived through the mirror of the sucking child's erotism ; for to enter the mother through the breast is just what the baby is trying to do. The second man killed by the *leltja* is described in very similar terms. He was a tall man with very big feet, long fingers, a long neck. He was a great *nankari* man and boned quite a number of people. He was a ' greedy ' man, that is, selfish, a tyrant. He would let nobody else decorate himself at the *illpangura*, the others had to perform without the *narkapala* (breast painting) and the eagle hawk feathers. One man he boned into his penis. The description fits in with our ideas of a very primitive representative of the father imago, a real Primal Father. Everything is ' long ', and with this huge penis he keeps all pleasure (performances, women) to himself and castrates those who would oppose his will. The last person killed is Kura, a great ceremonial chief, who was known to be always making *namatuna* (bull-roarers) and *tingari* (ceremonial poles). This reminds us of Yirramba's dream with the *alknarintja* women, there we have the old man (the dreamer's father) kneeling in the middle with a ceremonial pole and *namatuna*, and

eating *kura*. The two women are representatives of the good and the bad mother. The older woman Tnamumba is praised for always giving him plenty to eat, and he adds that her totemic country is the same as that of his mother. The younger one is the dangerous or 'male' mother, a woman who lives at Alice Springs and is always beating the other women. In the burial scene the dreamer says to the father: 'If you must go into a hole (coitus, burial), let this noise that I hear be your death dirge'! Here as in many other details the dream reminds us of his *alknarintja* dream, which ends with the primal scene represented as death (sinking into the ground, becoming a *churunga*).

This dream has proved very useful, for it gives us a clue to our next question: how is the Œdipus complex dealt with in this society? What happens with it in after life?

The fact that the adults do not remember the castration-threat does not prove that it does not exist, any more than with Europeans. But even if no such words were spoken, any occasional outburst of anger on the part of the much pestered parent would evidently be interpreted as a castration threat by the child. But the reaction of the child to this attitude of the adult's, or of the ego to the castration threats of the super-ego, is very different in Australia from what we are familiar with in Europe.

For we may confidently affirm that there is no latency period in the life of these people, no period in which they do not make more or less successful attempts at coitus. If this is the case, it must be assumed that the difference lies in the ego-reaction to the parental castration threat or to the refusal which is interpreted as a castration threat. While a white child may play at building a tower instead of trying to draw the mother's attention to his erected penis, a Pitchentara child would certainly show off to the little girls if it had been refused by the mothers. The flight of the ego from the castration threat does not go so far. Repression is a relatively superficial phenomenon as compared with what it is in civilization. The phallic organization is not submerged in the latency period, it survives into adult age with all its characteristic features. The penis is a spear or knife, marriage is rape, love is violence and the repression of the Œdipus fixations is merely superficial.

For as the *leltja* dream shows, repression is quickly followed by projection, and while their perpetual alarm at the approach of imaginary *leltjas* is certainly due to a projection of the father-son

relation, at the same time it serves its aim well in making this relation not only bearable but on the whole one of sincere good-fellowship and love in an Australian society. They have their *leltjas* to hate and to fear. But while projection seems in this case to be chiefly connected with the element of aggression in the Œdipus complex, the libidinal element, the incestuous trend, is dealt with by a phobia mechanism. For so unstable is the equilibrium between the id and the super-ego at this point that abstaining from incest has to be secured at a great cost. Under the eight class system only one out of eight women is eligible, all the rest falling, though with decreasing intensity as they recede from the focus of the son-mother relation, under the incest taboo. Another function of the classificatory system of relationship is that of dilution. The fact that under this system a man has several fathers, mothers, uncles, etc.[5] serves to lessen the strain by the formation of a serial order of ' fathers ' and ' mothers '.

We are human beings because we have an Œdipus complex, but our individuality depends on the early developments of this nucleus, on the specific traumata we have suffered or courted. In clinical analysis we very often find that individual symptoms, phantasies, phobias, neuroses or character development are conditioned by infantile traumas, that is, by more or less ' accidental ' events which occurred in the early infancy of the individual and gave rise to a specific feature of the Œdipus complex. In a very interesting paper W. Reich [6] has emphasized the transformation of an infantile trauma into a phobia and of the phobiac reaction into a trait of character. Thus for instance he shows how a mouse phobia is evolved on the basis of a passive Œdipus-complex and how this phobia is replaced by a character transformation. The patient behaves as if he were a very distinguished person, an English lord, thereby emphasizing a negation of the latent onanism-phantasies—a distinguished nobleman could not do or ' think such things '—whilst at the same time he is gratifying his homosexuality in a sublimated form. In the case of a patient whom I treated for about six months I found the same stratification. He must have seen or felt the father's penis in the parental bed when

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[5] All the men or women who belong to his father's, mother's or uncle's marriage-class. On dilution as a mechanism in primitive society, cf. M. Mead : *Coming of Age in Samoa*, 1928.

[6] ' Character Formation and the Phobias of Childhood '. This JOURNAL, Vol. XII., 1931.

the father was approaching the mother. At the age of three this memory and the latent phantasies connected with it (to replace the mother in the bed but also to cut off the father's penis) were embodied in a bird-phobia in which the bird was identified with the father's phallus and his own, and the latent desire was to castrate the father, the latent anxiety that he would be castrated by the father. Even now as a grown-up man he would not eat the wings of a fowl, but the phobia had been largely replaced by his profession. He was a poet and his poems were his innumerable children procreated by his father.

If we can show that a specific traumatic situation is bound to occur in the infancy of the average member of a primitive tribe we have found a new clue, perhaps the most important clue, to the development of national character. In discussing the sex *mores* of these people I mentioned the discovery of their peculiar sleeping customs. The mother lies on her son like the male on the female. This infantile trauma becomes repressed and gives rise to the myth of the '*alknarintja*' woman, the unattained goal of the boy's love, the phallic mother of mythology. This concept of the phallic mother is one of the deepest strata in the formation of the demon world. Nyiki related two anxiety dreams that he had had. In one of them he was frightened by an *erintja* and in one by a *ltana*. While relating these two dreams he is indulging in a kind of displaced onanism and playing with the sores on his leg. Then he gives another involuntary illustration of the latent content by drawing a snake in the sand. He talks about the ghost dream and said that his father died recently. His knowledge of the demons is derived from his mother. She told him that the *erintja* would come and fetch him if he did not behave himself. His illustration of the dream shows the *erintja* with the *tana* (trough) ready to fetch bad children. I ask him whether he has done anything bad and he answers, 'Yes, I called my mother "*para takia*" (red penis)'. Now it happens that Nyiki's mother was the very woman who first told me that she lies on her son (Nyiki is about ten years old) every night, so that we have cause and effect in one picture. Nyiki attributes the appearance of the cannibal demon to the fact that he called his mother a red penis and that is just what the demon is, a mother (child-carrier) with a penis, who lies on top of her son. The other children, both boys and girls, had similar dreams and phantasies. It is evident that the danger for the immature ego consists in a too great approximation to the primary wishes in a premature flooding

of the organism with libido. Nyiki probably has an erection when lying under his mother, perhaps also an ejaculation without immission of the penis. A full gratification would not be tolerated by either parents and would also be made impossible by the shadow they have thrown into the scarcely formed infant; by the super-ego. Thus pleasure becomes a danger, the danger of being eaten (the passive rôle in coitus, castration, total annihilation) by the being with the huge genital. This very strong premature fixation is then dealt with in the demon-phobia, in the projected mother-imago of the *alknarintja* women, and in certain character traits, to be discussed in connection with the subject of character-formation.

Attempting to summarize what we have found regarding the id of a Central Australian native we see that here too the Œdipus and castration complex forms the nucleus around which all other human strivings are crystallized. The essential differences are to be found not in the id at all but in the ego. In character development the straight line, i.e. sublimation, is predominant, while reaction formation of the anal type is absent. Repression goes only skin deep, there is no latency period and the phallic organization survives into adult age.

It has not been practicable to discuss the id functions without overstepping the boundaries, as the id manifests itself properly speaking only in its relation to the ego and super ego.

II. The Ego

(a) *Defence Mechanisms*

We shall attempt to describe the ego of the Central Australian native. By this term we understand in psycho-analysis a sort of thoroughfare, a cross-road where three motor-cars meet. One of these motor-cars comes from our inherited tendencies, that is from the id, another carries environmental influences and a third derives its force from society as the representative of the parental imagos. Between these rival forces the ego acts as a traffic policeman skilfully directing each of the three cars so as to avoid accidents. In its relation to the id, the ego avails itself of what we call defence mechanisms whenever the demands of the id become incompatible either with the interests of the super-ego or with those of the ego itself.

As prototype of all the transformations to which the libido becomes subjected in the course of its long history, I have in my book on *Australian Totemism* mentioned the mechanism of displacement upwards. Thus stags and lions grow antlers and manes in the rutting

period because the surplus of libidinal energy recedes back from the genital organ to the whole body.

Since Ferenczi's genital theory we should say that displacement upwards was a specific case of the genito-fugal trend of the libido.

If we find that the *churunga*, the totemic symbol from which children emanate, is carried on the head in the ceremonies, and that these ceremonies begin by group orgasm, we are perhaps justified in regarding this *churunga* as a penis symbol and its ceremonial use as a case of displacement upwards. In the *ltata* type of dances the *kira* or the *kutara* is worn on the head instead of the *churunga*. The *kira* is very similar to the *churunga*, but never covered with *andatta*. The *kutara* or peaked hat was at any rate interpreted as a sort of penis by the children, who, after declaring that one of the rubber dolls had a *kutara* on, promptly put the doll in question between their legs and used it in a quite unmistakable fashion.

We have already commented on the general function of totemic ritual and called it an attempt to stabilize society by representing the primal horde in the non-rutting period. From another point of view I pointed out how ceremonies of the *ltata* type ending in incest are replaced by ritual from which woman is excluded and how onanism takes the place of incest. The general trend of ritual is to transform direct heterosexual into deflected homosexual libido. The first step in attaining this aim is revealed by ritual itself. For blood is taken from the penis and smeared all over the body, that is, libido is withdrawn from the genital organ and used as a secondary reinforcement of the narcissistic cathexis of the whole body. In order to obtain this blood from the penis, the men masturbate in a group, but only in order to procure an erection, not an ejaculation. In other words, the most primitive mechanism used for stabilizing society is the genito-fugal trend of the libido (Ferenczi), for instead of women and instead of ejaculation we have a ceremony in which the men perform together, having transformed their whole body into a penis. The body is smeared with blood taken from the penis, covered with the fertilizing *andatta* and performs the *alknantama*, the quivering, which is evidently an imitation of the movements of the penis in the vagina. With two men quivering together and the others as onlookers we have the primal scene transcribed by replacing the direct libidinal aim by a deflected one, the heterosexual object by a homosexual, and object-cathexis by identification.

It is necessary to say a few words about the mechanism of repression

before we can explain the difference between repression in the white and in the brown race. By repression we mean the withdrawal of preconscious cathexis from a libidinal striving. The motor discharge being under the direction of consciousness, the unconscious striving is now cut off from motoric manifestation. But it reappears at the door of consciousness and tries to force an entry. The work of repression begins again and this game of thrusting and parrying would use up a considerable amount of energy, were it not for the formation of a counter-cathexis.

Now not only the pre-conscious or word concept is withdrawn, but a part of the libido as well, and centred round a dummy object, if it is an environmental counter-cathexis, or round a trait in character development if the counter-cathexis is in the ego. Ferenczi's chanticleer boy formed a counter-cathexis round poultry, for instead of killing his father he plays killing cocks, and instead of his mother he wants to marry a hen. Others may suffer a worse fate and go on repressing their libidinal activities till their character is modified and they take pleasure in denying themselves all forms of pleasure.

It is an essential feature of repression that neither of the actors in the play is visible to the eyes of the public, both the repressed and the repressive force being unconscious. Naturally this holds good for Central Australia too—and the native does not know that the *churunga* is the penis, or the cave or circular ornament the vagina. But the old men know that the first *churunga* was Malpunga's penis, and old Yirramba told me a legend in which the sacred cave (*arknanaua*) is actually the vagina. Secondary elaboration is not so intensive because repression is only skin deep. In my book on Australian Totemism I have explained the conception beliefs or the so-called sexual ignorance of the Aranda as due to a repression of the Œdipus complex. The correctness of this solution was fully borne out by my field-work. However, and this was just the instructive part of the work, the analysis of the conception dream usually revealed the Œdipus meaning in the first association. Moreover, repeated inquiries showed that both Spencer and Strehlow have very much exaggerated the facts when they stated that the Aranda did not know the causal relation between coitus and conception. It would be nearer the truth to say that some of them go so far in their acceptance of the official doctrine as to deny this connection. The staunchest advocate of the *churunga* doctrine was of course old Yirramba. He went so far as to say that even a man could give birth to a child if the spirit entered him. I

knew enough about him from his dreams to understand why he was such a radical *churunga* believer. But in most cases coitus was regarded as a necessary preliminary. Some of the western Luritja (Pana, etc.), who had never seen a white man before, held views that were intermediate between the mythical and the natural explanation. They would say that the unborn child or embryo came out of the *kuntanka*,[7] but entered the father's body first and then penetrated into the mother through the penis. Or they would also say that sometimes the *kuntanka* had nothing to do with the whole thing ; the child just went into the mother from the father's penis.

To make assurance doubly sure, I have seen the children of these western tribes enacting the whole process of coitus, conception and childbirth. There was certainly no sexual ignorance in their case. We must not forget that the whole doctrine is esoteric and cannot even be properly revealed before initiation, i.e. before they are officially acquainted with the existence of *churungas*. After initiation the majority really believe that something else is needed besides coitus to ensure conception—that is, repression has set in, but not gone very far.

The custom of *kerintja* or ceremonial avoidance is another instance. A man must turn his eyes away from his mother-in-law and avoid talking to her. In the case of in-law relations, the explanation given by the aboriginal agrees with our own view. The aim of the *kerintja* is to preclude the possibility of sexual attraction. But a son at puberty becomes also *kerintja* to his mother, a daughter to her father, a brother to his sister. When explaining the origin of repression Freud has often compared it to a flight or called it an introjected flight. We might also call the custom of *kerintja* a dramatized repression. The similarity between the process as found in analysis and the behaviour of the native is striking. In both cases we have incestuous libido, and a *scotomization* (Laforgue) of the object as the corresponding defence mechanism. But while civilized man withdraws his attention (preconscious cathexis), the savage withdraws his whole person. It is evident that the defence mechanism of the savage is not nearly as far-reaching as that of his civilized brother just because it has a motoric outlet. In repression as we know it, both the libido and the counteraction of the ego remain unconscious. But in this mode of behaviour the withdrawal of the flight is completely conscious, while the libidinal

[7] The Luritja word for *churunga*.

reason for such an action may here too remain unconscious. Finally, these views are confirmed by the absence of a latency period. When the castration threats of the parents induce a repression of infantile Œdipus sexuality, the genital impulse in general becomes latent for a time, manifesting itself only in the symbolical actions of children's games. In the Central Australian desert, however, there is an immediate transition of direct genital libido from the parents to their playmates, to all the children of the same age. Undoubtedly the Œdipus complex has undergone repression, but the substitutes are not so far removed from the original type of action. Therefore again we must conclude that repression has not reached so far into the depths of the human psyche as in civilization.

We have called the case of the chanticleer boy counter-cathexis in environment, but we might quite correctly describe it as projection.

Árpád projected the father-imago on to the cock and the mother-imago on to the hen. Paranoia is perhaps the classical illustration of projection. The paranoiac is under the delusion that certain persons whom we can easily recognize as slightly distorted representatives of the father-imago are trying to murder him. As formulated by Freud in the famous Schreber case the paranoiac is saying: 'That man hates me'. Going back one step further in the evolution of the formula we should say, 'I hate that man' (the father). But here again we have a secondary stage due to the repression of the original formula of 'I love the father'. That is, paranoia starts with a repression of the inverted Œdipus complex and follows with a projection of this distorted content.

The Central Australian type of society makes very extensive use of this mechanism. Women who have repressed their own incestuous desire imagine that they are pursued by the phallic demons. Children for whom the oral is still a very important erotogenic zone express their Œdipus complex in anxiety of the anthropophagous demons of both sexes, both being conspicuous by their large genital organ. And when a man complains of being pursued by a phallic demon who would like to eat him, the similarity to paranoia becomes very great indeed. The prevalent delusion of the pointing bone is in fact a mild case of paranoia. A man dreams that another man takes fæces from his anus and semen from his penis and throws these towards the dreamer. He will then point a bone at him, often holding it in a line with his own penis. The bone penetrates into his body and if it is not removed by another sorcerer, it will cause his death. It is evident

that here the passive homosexual desire (fæces, semen) of the dreamer appears as a desire to kill on the part of another man, the technique of projection being just the same as in the typical paranoia. The analogy goes even further, as Schreber and other paranoiacs speak of rays or seminal rays used against them by their alleged persecutors just as the *nankari* man throws semen or fæces, and then projects the bone.

In everyday life, especially in the prevalent form of humour, projection is very frequent. The projected content is nearly always erotic, and while everybody is anxious to deny the erotic impulse on his own part, it is quite the thing to talk of it in connection with another. For instance, when I was writing *altjiranga mitjina* myths with Kanakana and Pukutiwara, a new group of Pitchentaras joined us. ' Oh don't you interrupt us ', Kanakana said, ' You go to the camp and have intercourse '. Rungurkna, one of my boys, would express his disapproval at Merilkna's unreliability in coming to see me by saying, ' Oh that Merilkna, he is always cohabiting '. Old Yirramba denied everything when some of his past adventures were mentioned and said, ' Oh no, I am a Pultara, I have a little one, but you Mbitjanas have a big penis '. Then again, observe the children at work at the mission while they are chopping wood, they follow each hit by mentioning one of the lovers or future wives of another boy—never their own. But repression followed by projection is partially cancelled repression. What the boy represses is his own desire for coitus, but his mind is still on the same subject, though he talks about it in connection with another boy.

(b) *The Ego and the Environment*

It is sometimes assumed by anthropologists and also by psychoanalysts that primitive man is less adapted to his environment than we are, that the principle of reality has gone through a slow but steady process of development in the history of human civilization. If, however, as we see, the ego uses a less cumbrous armour in its defensive warfare against the id, it would seem to follow that it has more energy at its disposal in its struggle with environment.

Let us ride through the Central Australian desert in drought time and we shall think we are in a country where life is nearly extinct. Sand and patches of spinifex with a few trees and bushes. And yet the native manages to get a long list of eatable things from this barren environment and survives on lizards and grubs when he can get no big

game. Like every other human being, he loves his home dearly. Their faces will brighten up when they speak of the place where they *rataperama* (became incarnated) or of other places of mythological fame, and they will call them *tmara knarra* or *ngurru puntu*, a big place. When one arrives at the big place in question, it is only a few trees and rocks, with perhaps a little water to account for its reputation. Yet Ltalaltuma for the Aranda or Ilpila for the Yumu has the same emotional value as London for an Englishman or Paris for a Frenchman.

In order to understand the origin of these emotions, two facts must be remembered. One is the sign of the concentric circle reappearing in ceremonial life as the *ilpintira* or ground-drawing, as the *apmoara* mark on front and back of the novices at the *inkura*, and as the concentric mark on the *churungas*. On the *churungas* it is usually interpreted as a *tmara* (place or camp) where the ancestors of the totem stayed for a time or performed some ceremonies. Thus they will explain one concentric circle on the *churunga* as Ilpila, the other as Putati, because the ancestors went from Ilpila to Putati. The *ilpintira* is specially associated with the final initiation ceremony, called *inkura* or hole. An essential feature of this ceremony is the man sitting in a hole. But as some of my best informants explained, *inkura* is really short for *ilpa-inkura*. That is womb-hole. Moreover, as a body decoration, the concentric circle is called *apmoara*, that is, *womb*. The same result might also have been obtained by describing some of the games of Depitarinja where the earth appeared as a symbol of the womb. In Yirramba's dream of the *alknarintja* he described a feeling of something happy and soft when he enters the earth in the shape of a *churunga*. We have *Mother Earth* in Central Australia beloved by her children, though she is not a fertile garden, but an endless array of sand hills. *We may therefore claim that the emotional values attached to environment by the Aranda and Luritja are derived from deflected genital libido.*

In their struggle with environment, the main weapon of all these tribes is not the boomerang but the spear. It is the spears on which they bestow some care to keep them in order, and the native will first get his spears ready before moving to a new camp. In dream or play symbolism, ritual and bad language, the spear is one of the most frequent penis symbols. With environment as a womb and the penis as the means of conquering this environment, we cannot doubt that the ego has made use of phallic libido in its struggle with the environment.

And if Ferenczi's parallelism between the ' erotic sense of reality ' and ' the sense of reality ' in general holds good, we must revise the general opinion and say that primitive mankind is fully adapted to its own environment and that no progress in this respect has been made by civilization.

This genitalization of environment, the deflection of phallic id strivings into ego strivings, is probably the nucleus for the crystallization of the ego in stone age society.

Genitalization is also the principal weapon of the ego in its struggle with reality.

Out in the bush surrounded by Yumu, Pindupi and Pitchentara children, I had an excellent opportunity to study the reaction of the primitive ego to environment or reality. For the toys that I spread out in the sand were certainly something absolutely new to the children. It is therefore very probable that their reactions were the repetitions of the original ones, a second journey along the path traversed by the newly-born infant in making himself a citizen of the world. The first reaction was one of great and general anxiety. Slowly they approach, and now they begin to know what they are afraid of. The treatment of the toys is absolutely animistic. They talk to the snake and monkey and begin to threaten them. The monkey is to drop that stick he is holding or they will break his arm. The snake is not to try to bite them or they will kill it. The next phase is that they go into details. Where does the snake eat and where does it defecate ? The squeaking india-rubber doll with a hole in its back speaks, eats and defecates through that hole. They try to feed the dolls with the dried fruit I gave them. But the chief thing is always, where does the excrement come out ? And it is really a sight to see the deep perturbation depicted on their faces whenever they find a completely smooth surface with nothing that could be qualified as mouth, anus, vagina or penis. Gradually however they find a way out of the difficulty. The paper trumpet and the snake are the first to be picked out as penis symbols and fitted to their own genitals. One after another all the other objects, even the most unlikely ones, are called *kalu* (penis) and used accordingly. Finally, we see the whole group, about fifteen children, boys and girls, all with an artificial *kalu* between their legs rushing after each other and using it in the natural way that a penis should be used. Now at last they are perfectly happy. Well they might be—for they have achieved what we are always trying to do, they have modified environment, transformed reality into pleasure.

Any object that does not give pleasure involves a threat of *aphanisis* (Jones), of a complete loss of pleasure. It must therefore be *libidinized* and transformed into a pleasure-giving object, so that the tension should cease. The details of the process correspond to those of ontogenetic libido-development. First, the object is credited with the universal diffuse form of libido we call *life*, then with oral and anal libido and finally with libido at the height of its development, i.e. genitality.

But how can we say that people who think they can increase their food supply by certain songs and ceremonies, who believe that rain can be made by a human being, or that disease is cured by extracting a bone from the patient, how can we say that these people are acting in accordance with reality and are thus well adapted to environment ?

The reader who uses these arguments forgets that they apply to nearly all humanity, excepting the small atheistic group, at the height of civilization. It is still the custom to pray for rain and the crops, and I fail to see why this civilized type of magic should have a greater influence on nature than its totemistic predecessor, or why Christian Science should be regarded as a more effective medical practice than Aldinga's art of the *nankara* stone. Our very civilized reader has been duped by rationalization. The ceremonies have other functions than their avowed aims, for although they do not influence nature, they sublimate certain libidinal quanta and by doing so help the savage in his everyday struggle. They certainly do not divert his energies from practical aims, and he is no worse a hunter because he has made magic for the multiplication of an animal species.

It is true, however, that civilized methods such as irrigation, agriculture, cattle breeding, might provide for a far larger number of human beings per square mile. But in this case we have a radically different method of dealing with environment. Civilized man has not adapted himself to nature, he has adapted nature to his own needs. The animal is mainly autoplastic, civilized man mainly alloplastic, while the savage ranges somewhere between the two. But I think we have paid a great price for our triumph. We had to modify ourselves in order to modify nature, for our achievements in civilization since the totemistic period are mainly based on anal character formation. Agriculture, trade, cattle-breeding, forethought for the morrow and cleanliness are all due to a new era in the character development of mankind.

This credo of narcissism reminds us that the ego is not only the

practical part of our nature, but also a part of our psychical system with a certain libido cathexis of its own.

(c) *Narcissism*

If the relation to the mirror can be taken as a sort of test of narcissism, then the girls and boys of the Aranda tribe are certainly highly narcissistic. There was a mirror in our kitchen and the imprint of a mouth was nearly always visible on it. The girls would gaze at their own image in the mirror and kiss it rapturously. Depitarinja and the other children would do the same with the little toy mirror that was one of our playthings. An Aranda or Luritja has certainly a high opinion of his own physical excellence, and is never troubled by any inferiority complex in this respect. When old Mulda saw a very beautiful ancestral spirit in his dream and I asked him what the dream-person looked like, he said, 'A pretty man like Wapiti and myself when we were young '.

Every Central Australian native lives two lives. As a *rella ndurpa* or real person you see him wandering about the bush or doing the white man's work for his rations. But as a *ngantja* or hidden person he has never left the ancestral cave and the *churunga*. There is some difference of opinion as to the exact nature of the *ngantja*. Sometimes it is identified with the ancestor who has become a *churunga*, sometimes with the soul, but it is really different from both. While the ghost is red all over and a terrifying apparition, the *ngantja* looks like the real man at the prime of his life. The man dies, but the *ngantja* is immortal. While according to the usual account it is the man himself whom the woman sees when he is whirling the *namatuna* and making an *ilpindja* to get her, according to Tnyetika, this is the *ngantja*. When the man whirls the *namatuna*, the *ngantja* does the same, and it is the latter that appears to the woman in her dream. She goes to the man who is making the magic and when they are married she has another dream, or rather she has the same dream again with the *ngantja* whirling the *namatuna*. This time the child *alknerama* (gets eyes, i.e. is born) from the *namatuna*. But then the same old man, who, after the death of old Yirramba, is perhaps the only surviving Aranda authority on such matters, said that a woman might also see a man's *kuruna* (soul) in her dream and the child might *rataperama* after her having had intercourse with that man. Both the *ngantja* and the *kuruna* are doubles and both look exactly like the man. But while the *kuruna* always follows the man, the *ngantja* is usually seen coming

out of the cave. Detailed information on the subject was obtained from the Mularatara and Pitchentara. When speaking of another man's *ngantja*, they call it *paluru nguanpa* (like him). When speaking of their own they say *ngaiulu nguanpa* (like me).

The beginning of a new life is the *kuntanka* (*churunga*) in the ancestral cave. Two little *iti-iti* (unborn children) emerge from the *kuntanka*. Like real children, they play about, throwing their little waddies at each other or at the birds they see. When they catch sight of their prospective father, one of the babies sits on his shoulder and the other—the *paluru nguanpa*—continues to walk about. When the little boy, having passed from the father into the mother, begins to grow in her womb, the double grows also in the ancestral cave. The *paluru nguanpa* follows its human double and warns him of any impending danger by making his back shiver. If the child dies, the *nguanpa* again sits on the father's shoulders, enters the mother, and the same child is born again and another double emerges from the *kuntanka*. If a grown-up man dies, his double joins the double of his brother and the latter is then protected by two *nguanpas*. The *nguanpa* always follows a man. Thus, if Kanakana is asleep, Pukutiwara may see his *nguanpa* sitting at the fire. The *kurunpa* or soul leaves the body and sees strange places in the dream, but the *nguanpa* stops there to take care of the body, and protects the sleeper against all his enemies. The *nguanpa* has got another *kurunpa* in store, and if the man loses his own *kurunpa*, the *nguanpa* will give him this reserve *kurunpa*. The *nguanpa* is like a *puli* (rock) full of *kurunpa*. If he gives one to his human double, he still keeps a sufficient number.

In this version the ancestor (*tukutita*) seems to have no part in the incarnation and the *nguanpa* seems to do everything. Note the essential difference ; for while the *tukutita* is a full grown man, the *nguanpa* of a baby is also a baby. Yet the same two men (Kanakana and Pukutiwara) went on to tell me a different story. When a *tukutita* becomes a *kuntanka*, that stick or stone is full of *iti-iti* (child germs). From this *kuntanka* these *iti-iti* come forth and walk about like the *tukutita* himself, like a big man with a spear and everything else. When the *tukutita* wants to go into the mother, he becomes little again. Then we have the Pindupi and Yumu version. When the ancestor whirls the *namatuna* (*mandagi*), two beings split off it, one enters the mother and the other goes into the ancestral cave. On the ground in the cave are the *kuntanka* and under these the doubles of real human beings. These doubles will take a man's soul and show him

dances, love magic and ceremonies, in the cave. Once Urantukutu dreamt that his *kurunpa* left his body and saw two doubles running after each other with *kuntankas* in the cave. He was lying on his back and they decorated his body with *wamulu* (= *andatta*,) but when he awoke he did not remember the pattern. One of the doubles looked like himself, the other like his younger brother.

Of course it is evident that this 'hidden one' or likeness is what we call a double or *Doppelgänger*. We love ourselves too dearly to comprehend or admit the possibility that we may perish, and as reality has taught us that our body is not everlasting, we desire and therefore believe in the existence of a hidden likeness of ourselves in a shape that cannot perish, eternal like a rock and full of the germs of life. But these children of our wishes, although they owe their existence to our phantasies, are yet firmly rooted in reality. It is quite true to say that we lead a double existence, that of a real man and of a hidden being. For although the ego will develop under the influence of environment, the id never leaves the maternal cave and has nothing to do but to play with the penis (*churunga*) in the cave, i.e. in the vagina. Just as psycho-analysis regards the ego as split off from the same root as the id, so in these conceptions and theories two beings, a real and a hidden one, are split off from the *churunga*. The ego beloved by the id, or the real man under the care and protection of the hidden likeness—this is the correct description of what we mean by narcissism. But just as in clinical analysis the economic distribution of the libido between narcissism, reality and object love, or the content of narcissism, are entangled problems with ramifications in all directions, so we find that we have got to the very foundations of the psychology of these people when the 'hidden one' appears on the scene.

For we see that the *ngantja* is always in close association with the *churunga* and with generation. Moreover, the women identify the *ngantja* with the *mamu*, the phallic demon, as whenever they see one, he appears in the guise of a man chasing them for the purpose of intercourse. When the '*ratapa*' enters the mother, an adult transforms himself to a tiny living being, i.e. as Ferenczi wrote some years ago, in coitus the male enters the womb in the shape of the spermatozoon with which he identifies himself.[8] Moreover, the hidden one continues to reside under the *churunga*; that is, the id, the original and hereditary part of our personality, is the genital striving, the penis.

[8] Ferenczi: *Versuch einer Genitaltheorie*, 1924, p. 87.

The hidden one is the *élan vital*, the libido of the race, and the individual merely a chip of the old block. As a *rella ndurpa* we may perish, but as a *ngantja* we are strong as a rock, an inexhaustible store of life.

With a personality well anchored in a healthy foundation of narcissism, Central Australian man is also well adapted to reality. In a series of interesting papers based on clinical work, Federn has been trying to shew that the loss of the feeling of reality, the phantasy of a world that is not real but peopled by schematic beings, is the self-projection of an endopsychical phenomenon, of the loss of narcissistic libido. For our Central Australian friends the world is very real indeed and full of intense interest, because the *ngantja* will always protect the *rella ndurpa*, and their original and natural self-love is the source of their strength.

III. The Super-ego

(a) *The Super-Ego and the Churunga*

Our individuality is the result of an interaction between three autonomous factors, the id, the ego and the super-ego, that is, roughly our desires, reality and our moral inhibitions. Without understanding the super-ego of an individual, and *a potiori* of a social group, we know nothing about the distinctive features of the individual or social group in question. We have a rough and ready idea of how we acquire this part of our personality in the course of individual life. The male child introjects the danger that threatens him from the outside in the shape of the father, and acquires a duplicity of purpose. One part of his personality will continue to follow the primary strivings, another will do all in its power to oppose them. The relations of the original unmodified ego to this secondary part of ourselves or super-ego give rise to many complicated psychical situations and indeed are the decisive factor in shaping the destinies of the individual.

Old Renana had sold me some *churungas*. He was fully justified in doing so according to his present convictions, for he is a Christian and indeed one of the leaders of the Christian community. But he was a fully initiated man before he became baptized and he will in the depths of his heart and convictions remain an Aranda of the old block till he dies. After having brought the *churungas* he had the following dream :—

'My father came to my camp and said, 'Take the three *churungas* back to the *arknanaua*'; I said, 'No, I wont take them'. He took a fire-stick and burnt my back.'

The *churunga* he brought that day was a *yirramba* (honey ant). It

had been his father's *churunga* and he would therefore call it *aranga* (= grandfather). When the father was alive he always used to tell him, 'Don't go to the *ltata*, don't take other men's girls or they will kill you. You marry the girl who is *lelindja* (= promised) to you and leave the others alone!' Some weeks after this dream, he dreamt as follows :—

'A big crowd came from the south, marching up the bed of the Finke River. Their leader was the famous chief Kapiloru (Permanent Water). They sang *pau-pau* and then split up into two mobs to attack the camp. Several of them had double *waningas* on their head. One old woman shouted *hai hai!* go back! and they retreated. She went after them with a fire-stick and burnt their *waninga*'.

This Kapiloru was a very great chief of the southern Luritja and a good friend of his father's Anybody who wanted to make a *nankuru* (= great initiation ceremony) or to go on the blood-feud had to ask for his permission first.

About three weeks later he sold me a snake *churunga* and had the following dream :—

'I saw two camels, one was very big with a long back and two humps, the other was quite small. The big camel was talking like a man and it had a face like a dog. Between his legs (he shows the penis) it carried a little dingo with a very long nose. The camel said to the dingo, "Go and bite that man". The dog jumped at me, but when it reached me it was not a dog, it was an old man kangaroo'.

The camel was like the *erintjas* which his father used to talk about. Both the *erintjas* and the camel come from the great *laia* (sea). One *erintja* will go into a man and kill him. Others are like a dingo and these will bite a man into two halves.

In all the three dreams he is attacked by the dead father, once appearing in his own shape, once as his friend and co-chief Kapiloru, and once as the large camel. Nathaniel, the Christian, is despoiling the ancestral caves and handing out the *churungas* to the white man, but Renana, the *inkata* of Arolbmolbma, is not quite at his ease about it. Conscience represented by the father has something to say in the matter. There are two forms of rebellion against the paternal authority, two things which his father told him not to do; to remove the *churunga* from the ancestral cave and to go after girls who belonged to other men. The two forbidden actions must ultimately mean the same thing. It is dangerous to separate a man from a girl, to take the *churunga* (paternal penis = grandfather) out of the vagina. If he does this, something like a snake or dog or phallic demon will emanate

from the father's phallus and bite him. The Luritjas marching up the creek with their great water leader might well be regarded as a sort of flood. The old woman who drives them away is like his old mother. When he was a child he used to be more with his mother than with his father and even now they are always together. The father's snake or flood or fire-stick are a danger to the child and from these he seeks refuge with the mother.

In this dream series we see the super-ego in action and we also see something of its origin. By doing something of which the father would have disapproved, he is acting against a trend in himself, against the desire to love and obey the father, against his super-ego. All these dreams are connected with the fact that he is giving *churungas* away. No wonder that this should be the case, for the *churunga* is a sort of materialization of tribal morals. Wars are fought because of real or alleged ritual omissions in the handling of these symbols, and an exchange of *churungas* between two allied groups is the greatest possible proof of friendship. There is some reason therefore to assume that if we have managed to explain the origin of the *churunga*, we shall also have thrown some light on the roots of the super-ego. For we must not forget that re-translated into everyday language, the super-ego means: prohibitions and rules of conduct given by the parents and accepted by the child. But anybody who has observed the life of these desert tribes will agree with me when I say that there is very little to speak of in this respect before puberty, that is, before a boy gets his *churunga*. I do not say that up to the age of circumcision he has no super-ego. It is crystallizing very slowly. All the time the father will be angry if the child sees the coitus of the parents, and 'growl' at him if he goes anywhere near a *churunga*. The mere fact that he is there, that he has something to do with his mother, will call forth resentment, an unconscious desire to kill, then a fear of being killed, and finally a partial identification with the dreaded person on the part of the child. But the whole process is dramatized and reinforced in the puberty ritual. The Pitchentara boy whose initiation I witnessed thought that the old men were going to kill him, and thus read their unconscious intentions. But libidinal identification has so far modified the original tendencies that they do not really kill and castrate their sons when these reach the dangerous age. They throw them up into the air and beat them, they make them drink blood and sometimes also eat their fæces, they subject them to many restrictions regarding their diet, and, chiefly, they very nearly castrate them. I

have heard of many boys who have for years been successful in running away whenever the old men were present in any numbers, their reason for doing so being the fear that circumcision and subincision might 'spoil' their penis altogether. As a compensation for all this, the boy is now the owner of two *churungas*—the *namatuna* or grass-hitter, used for charming women, and the *churunga mborka* or body *churunga* which they tell the boy is his second body.

It would be a very serious thing if the boy lost this *churunga mborka*—the old men would kill his father. If this is the result of a symptomatic action, we may conclude that it is also its meaning. The *churunga* is the father as a super-ego, as a second body within ourselves. But just as the super-ego is evolved in consequence of the castration threats, this materialized super-ego is handed over to the boys after a symbolical or partial castration.

If we say that initiation is a dramatization of the formation of a super-ego, or if we call it a dramatization of repression, we are saying nearly the same thing. But perhaps it will be useful to envisage the events from this new angle. The boy has been living with the beloved mother and the father. His attitude towards the latter is ambivalent, as he represents for him restriction of his desires, although manifested only non-systematically in the form of occasional outbursts of temper. At the initiation ceremony the society of adults behaves like a powerful army which has been hitherto content with occasional threats against the rebellious forces, but now, seeing them growing in strength, decides to make a serious effort to quell the rebellion. A systematic effort is made to tell the boy what he may not do, i.e. an effort to reinforce the repressive forces at the time when puberty shows that his sexuality must now be taken seriously. An organized attempt is made to put repression into action at the most critical point by teaching the reincarnation doctrine. At the moment when the boys are about to become fathers, the old men jealously guarding their own privileges tell them that they can never become fathers because it is not they who make the children but the ancestors, the *churunga* in the sacred cave, the objects in the keeping of the old men. The elder generation is acting unconsciously, or rather it is dramatizing its own tension, and in this dramatization we get a clear picture of the process of repression. It begins by circumcision as a symbolic castration. The next phase is the blood ritual. Every day the initiators, 'the fathers', pour the blood from their veins on the boy's body; he must always be covered with their blood. And from time to time he has to drink this blood

which they have poured into a tree bark. The explanation they give for this ritual is that the boy should have a big body. It is the same thing as the consolation given by Kanakana to the boy after the circumcision, 'Now you are like I am'. By drinking the blood of the elders he becomes an elder himself; this is the process of identification. This leads to the crystallization of a new personality in the ego, the super-ego as materialized in the two *churungas* (body and penis) which he gets from the elders.

(b) *The Super-Ego and the Death Impulse*

Having thus far dealt with the super-ego as a unity, we shall make an attempt to dissolve this unity into its component elements, at the same time also discussing the difficult subject of the death impulse.

The death impulse is one of the pillars on which we have built up the metapsychology of psycho-analysis. In actual life we find it manifests itself as an impulse of aggression, or as an introverted type of aggression, a partial self-destruction. Freud himself interprets sadism as a projected death impulse, while others prefer to look upon masochism as an introverted aggression. While anthropological material in general is probably not of the kind that would justify us in accepting or rejecting either point of view, there is one feature in the life of our Central Australian friends that strongly points to the unity of these two impulses, or rather to the conclusion that they are only two directions of the same impulse.

One of the Aranda girls had stolen some flour from the other girl at Hermannsburg. Thereupon both got hold of a stone and each hammered the head of the other with this stone. There was no attempt to parry or to evade the blows. Indeed, each girl seemed rather to thrust her head forward so as to get the full impact of the stone, hitting hard at her opponent when her time came. This typically Australian form of combat shows the close juxtaposition of aggression and introverted aggression. But as our aim is not metapsychological and all we are really trying to do is to understand the natives of Central Australia, we may discuss the destructive trends from another point of view, namely, in connection with the libido, with the ego or the super-ego. We have already commented upon the fusion of object erotism with the sadistic impulse in the marriage customs, and also on the phallic-sadistic attitude of the ego. We shall now attempt to investigate the function of the death impulse or impulse of aggression in connection with the super-ego.

We were celebrating the initiation of a Pitchentara boy. I had sent Kanakana to shoot a kangaroo with my shot-gun and he came home in the evening telling us that Pukutiwara was dead. There could be no doubt about the fact, for the wailing of the women proclaimed the event. Pukutiwara was dead. He had been a sick man for some time, and although the medicine men of the Nambutji tribe had sucked some porcupine grass out of his nose in the proper, orthodox fashion, there was no help for him. The *tamu* and the *watjira* (paternal grandfathers and cross-cousins) of the dead man dug a hole and into this hole he will be carried with all speed by the same relations. When I arrive on the scene he is lying in the lap of his widow Tankai, sideways, as if he were asleep. With her hand she covers his mouth, while his children and other near relations put their hands on his stomach. But perhaps there is only one real mourner; his little son Aldinga, who would never let go his father's hand and would play in the sand while his father told the tales of the wandering ancestors. Some of the ceremonial features of the Aranda and other Luritja tribes are absent in this case. All we see for the present is that the women cover themselves with lime and that the wailing is repeated for some days at sunrise and sunset. After burning the dead man's belongings they demolish their huts and build them up again on the other side of the Palmer.

But this flight from the scene of death which corresponds to a flight within, a withdrawal of pre-conscious cathexis from the whole complex of unconscious contents, settles the matter only for a short time. Soon another type of ritual sets in, and it is this alternation of self-destruction and projected aggression which really characterizes the condition of Central Australian society after a death. They cut themselves and they kill others for the dead. The Pitchentara do not cut themselves for the dead, and as the Arandas are at present in a decadent state and mostly Christians, I will quote the description given by Spencer and Gillen to show what happened after death in old times.

The sons-in-law of the deceased, that is, the real son-in-law and all the men who belong to his marriage class, are conspicuous by their absence. They must never mention the name of the dead and it is their duty to cut themselves on the shoulder when their father-in-law dies. If one of them does not perform the cutting well and thoroughly, some other father-in-law will punish him by giving his bride to another

man to appease the ghost of the dead father-in-law.[9] This is called *alula urparalama*, to sweep the blood, that is, the sorrow, away. The actual burial is usually followed by another ceremony which terminates the mourning. At this ceremony there is another great display of grief. 'On the way to the grave the mother often threw herself heavily on the ground and attempted to cut her head with a digging stick. Each time she did so, she was picked up by two women whose duty it was to prevent her from hurting herself too much, but by the time that the grave was reached her body was a mass of bruises and covered over with sharp three-cornered prickles. At the grave she threw herself upon it, tearing up the earth with her hands and being literally danced upon by the other women. The women seem to work themselves up into a perfect frenzy and to become quite careless as to the way in which they cut and hack themselves.'[10] The second description refers to the death of a woman ; it is then that the women feel the need of self-punishment. One thing seems to be quite clear, namely, that there must be a close connection between a tendency to self-punishment and the sorrow expressed in the mourning ritual. We might say that the position of the son-in-law is ambivalent, for on the one hand he is sorry for having lost a beloved and respected protector in the person of the father-in-law, and on the other he is happy to have got rid of the man whom in his unconscious he must regard as his greatest rival in his love relations with his wife. He is so happy that the super-ego finds it is time to interfere and to punish him for the success of his rebellious desires. For we must not forget that the father-in-law is the man who circumcised him and whom he is constantly supplying with the spoils of the chase. If this conjecture is correct we must be able to shew :—

(*a*) Super-ego functions in connection with the father-in-law.

(*b*) The father-in-law as a beloved object, that is, a sublimation of the negative Œdipus complex (homosexuality).

(*c*) The reason for the self-punishment, that is, a positive Œdipus trend, the son-in-law and father-in-law as sexual rivals.

Keeping these three desiderata in mind we shall now proceed with our narrative. The death of Pukutiwara or of any other man is due to sorcery, that is, to the hatred of human beings, and these human beings are always to be found in one of the other tribes. Having

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[9] Spencer and Gillen : *The Arunta*, II., p. 433.

[10] Spencer and Gillen : *ibid.*, II., p. 441.

agreed upon the tribe and individual in question, revenge can be taken in two ways as a *tnenka* (military expedition) or as a *leltja* (a single avenger). In the Mularatara tribe the starting out of the expedition is regarded as a ceremony of the snake totem or rather as a repetition of what the snake ancestors did in the mythological epoch. These snake ancestors lived in Uluru, where the Matuntara tribal territory ends and the Mularatara area begins. What they did and what therefore men do nowadays when starting for one of these expeditions is told in the sacred song that accompanies the ritual. I will give a free translation: 'Starting we gather, together we run . . . We smear charcoal on our breasts, we start, we gather, oh the spear! We gather together . . . we smear the charcoal on our breast . . . The spear goes and strikes the enemy like a snake! Stab the penis with a stick, the crooked subincision hole! The blood comes squirting out from the penis! . . . Oh willy wagtail with round white eyes!'

They begin to sing this song in the presence of the women, who are looking on from a distance. Two or more men dance round a spear, making unmistakable coitus movements as they do. Indeed, this part of the ceremony is called 'having intercourse with the spear'. When they come to the line in which the snake is mentioned, the women have to crouch down and hide their head (*pupanyi*), for now comes the stabbing of the penis and making blood squirt out of it, and this part of the ceremony no woman must ever see. Spencer and Gillen describe the same squirting forth of blood from the penis as part of the same Aranda ceremony. 'All of the men stood up, opened their veins in their penes by means of sharp flakes or pointed sticks, and standing opposite to one another, allowed the blood to spurtle out over each other's thighs'.[11] After having done this they run backwards in a manner so as to make their subincision holes visible and this is the part of the ritual that is especially taboo to the women. Evidently it must be taboo to the women, for this ritual is the *ngallunga*, the very nucleus of the Central Australian ceremonial complex. In both cases the avowed intention of the ritual is to strengthen the bond of friendship based on sublimated homosexual libido. It is a peculiar feature of this post-mortem warfare that it always commences with some sort of masturbation. Thus the Aranda will all put their hands to the subincision hole, rub it and get excited before starting out. An important object associated with this vendetta is the *kuru-urkna*

[11] Spencer and Gillen: *The Arunta*, II., p. 448.

(soul essence), the girdle made of the dead man's hair, by virtue of which the leader of the revenge expedition is assured of the protection of the dead. While the leader of the expedition presses this girdle against the stomach of his followers, he kneels before each man in succession and each man masturbates him—though not to the point of ejaculation.[12] The Yumu call the same things *manjunuma*. The dead man's uncle cuts his hair, his brother puts the string into his mouth and then stretches it to each man's navel in order to stop excessive grief. They also believe that the *manjunuma* makes them invincible and with its help they are sure to kill the culprit.

The general function of the *kuru-urkna* is very similar to that of the *churunga*. Both are sacred objects which no woman is allowed to see, both represent a bond of goodwill between the men, and both are connected with certain moral obligations. They are both something that corresponds to the flag of the nation, something for which men will fight. Whilst the *kuru-urkna* is the token of the identification with the dead man, it seems also to be, in some sense, identical with the culprit, for when the *kuru-urkna* is torn to pieces, the victim of the expedition dies. Another remarkable thing about this expedition is that the avengers represent or dramatize the death of their victim, and one of their own men receives the name of the man whom they are about to kill.[13] The leader of the party uses a spear thrower on which the whole scene is represented, and the usual *churunga* marks are interpreted as the killers sitting round their dead victim.

It is therefore evident that killing an enemy is a substitute for some form of self-destruction and that the alleged culprit is but the scapegoat for his murderer. The whole proceeding shows with amazing distinctness the very features which I regard as characteristic of these tribes. If we substitute the father for the father-in-law we see how a vindictive, aggressive super-ego is formed and what follows. The father is dead, the sons have introjected him. Among the Southern Aranda the corpse is opened immediately after death and the brothers eat the kidney fat to give them additional strength. But what sort of a man was the father? Taking the average native as we know him, he certainly cannot be called a severe father in our sense of the word. He is easy going, good natured, but he is also given to sudden outbursts of rage. For the things which the son (in-law) unconsciously wanted

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[12] Spencer and Gillen: *The Arunta*, II., p. 447.

[13] Spencer and Gillen: *ibid.*, II., 449.

to do, he would certainly have cut or even killed him. For it is the custom before starting out on these expeditions that the son (in-law) has intercourse with the dead man's wife, a mother substitute (mother-in-law) who at all other times would be excessively taboo. If the sons-in-law are a bit slow in performing their duty of blood revenge the women will take matters into their own hands and offer themselves to the boys. This offer cannot be refused and after accepting it, they cannot delay matters any more. In other words, the self-punishment is for having killed the father and for having had intercourse with the mother. When he has done this he gets rid of the impending super-ego danger—by killing somebody else. What I call typically Australian in the whole proceeding is the non-modification of the ego. He placates the revitalized super-ego of his infancy by symptom formation (cutting himself) and by projection (killing someone else).

The severity or rather the aggressiveness of the super-ego is not due to a special aggressiveness of the father, but it is that specific feature among all others in his personality which leads to the formation of a super-ego. The first latent formula would be : it is not true that I have killed the father in order to have intercourse with the mother. What I desire is coitus with the father (mutual onanism of the men, ceremonial coitus with the spear). Masturbation strengthens the bond between the men ; the super-ego is formed when the aggressiveness of the introjected father is libidinized in a passive homosexual way. The second formula would be : it is not true that I have killed the father, it is the father who kills me (self-inflicted wounds) and I kill another man who has killed the father (but whom I identify with the father and myself). The fusion of the death and life impulse is very evident in the whole proceeding, but it looks as if it were not the death impulse that leads the way for the life impulse to seek a more remote object, but rather the process of libidinization which deflects the self-destructive trends and projects them beyond the tribal boundaries.

(c) *Character Development and Symptom Formation*

The reader may perhaps get the impression that we are reiterating the same statements, for character has already been discussed from various points of view in connection with id, ego and super-ego. But I think the complicated interrelation of psychic structures justifies us in taking the question up once more and looking at it from a new angle. What we have said about the phallic, narcissistic and destructive basis of ego-development can also be put another way. By a primitive

character development we mean a character based to a large extent on deflected, but not on inverted id impulses. It is natural for the animal to eat what it finds, and our stone age friends have surpassed this level only slightly in their methods of hunting. They have not evolved the psychologically highly integrated proceeding of producing food in order to consume it at some future date. They have transformed (sublimated) a part of their sexual aggressiveness in the impulse to kill and rend animals to pieces, as is shown by their folk-tales. For the erotic character of the folk-tale, the *malpakara*, is conspicuous by the fact that he is a very poor hunter, he has not displaced libido from the id to ego activity. Their narcissism is certainly not of a morbid type, they are just happy and pleased with themselves, but not at all sensitive.

I do not wish to suggest that they have no reaction formations. The primal scene will always provoke rage, a desire to castrate the father and castration anxiety, and hence there are no human beings without shame. But the area of their personality covered by this type of reaction is much smaller than in civilization. Neither sex is ashamed of going about naked, but the women are careful to walk and sit in such a manner as to cover the vagina. The men frequently leave the penis uncovered but they are certainly ashamed of having an erection in public and that is why ' big penis ' is a term of opprobrium. However, matters do not go any further than this. We do not find people who are ashamed of success because of its latent sexual meaning, no castration characters or masochistic characters who have no success in life because their all too powerful super-ego makes them court defeat. Whilst a ' castration-character ', in Alexander's sense of the word [14] would be somebody who is always suffering real losses in life, the Australians merely have the same tendency embedded in their taboos and rules of food distribution. But castration anxiety is placated by a symptom and there is no ego-modification. Another great group of reactive character-formations, viz. those of the anal type, are equally conspicuous by their absence. As for the peculiar distributive aspect of Australian society, we may perhaps regard it as doubly determined both as a direct and as a reactive trait of character. No animal will leave food untouched in order to share it with others, and we have seen that there are definite rules of food distribution in

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[14] F. Alexander: ' The Castration Complex in the Formation of Character '. This JOURNAL, Vol. IV., 1923.

this society. Now rules spell super-ego and super-ego spells castration anxiety. On the other hand it is evident that this continual giving is also based on certain libidinal factors. One of these is probably an identification with the mother.[15] Another is the primitive non-retentive structure of the ego, in which the sphincter-function has not yet attained any conspicuous importance. In other words, as we have expressed it above, they have an urethral, expulsive type of character development. As regards property, it is of especial importance that the only object they really mind losing is the *churunga*, and this phallic cathexis of the environment goes well with what I have called an urethral character development. Perhaps we might also distinguish the giving according to certain rules from the general distributiveness of their character. In the former case the reaction-formation or super-ego influence is prevalent, whilst in the latter (especially with regard to property as distinguished from food) we have really an expulsiveness, a withdrawal of libido from the object. They love themselves, not objects or environment, and if they do love the latter, the libido cathexis is of a fleeting, unstable nature. They are nomads by nature and their shifting libido demands a shifting scenery.

We shall now again revert to the situation of the boy lying under his mother and attempt to show that this may truly be called the *specific symptom* of Central Australian psychology. For what might have happened ? The ego might have responded to this premature danger-situation by introjecting the mother and developing a female character.[16] Instead of this he shows a marked or even exaggerated maleness, manifested in using violence against woman and in developing an exclusively male society.

Where there is a *churunga* no female must be present. Consequently we must again conclude that this is what the *churunga* is made for. Why should there be such a strong desire to exclude the females ? The vagina is very hot, it is fire, Kanakana said, and each time the penis goes in, it dies.

Let us now give a second look at this *churunga*. We see the penis symbol itself covered with concentric circles. But the concentric

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[15] Cf. A. Bálint, ' Der Familienvater ', *Imago*, Bd. XII.

[16] This has actually taken place to a certain degree (female distributiveness, libidinization of the body in ritual). Cf. J. Harnik : ' The Various Developments undergone by Narcissism in Men and in Women '. This JOURNAL, Vol. V., 1924.

circle is the *apmoara* mark, the symbol of the womb. We may therefore say that the Aranda are the people who are constantly carrying a penis and covering it with womb or vagina symbols. This is the *churunga*, the symbol of woman held at bay. In its historical [17] significance it shows the starting point of Aranda life—the boy's penis covered by the maternal vagina. Like all symptoms, it is twofold in its origin. On the ego and super-ego side it means a repression of the original gratification—no women are wanted, the men will enjoy themselves without them. On the id or libido side it means a repetition of the primal situation, a *churunga* covered with *tmara* marks is the boy's penis in the mother's vagina. It is as if the men were telling the boys : we are both the same now, we all have an Œdipus complex and we sublimate it in the same way ; by the *churunga*.

In transforming their penis into a vagina the Central Australians are showing us the very essence of ritual. Each generation must suffer castration, i.e. transformation into a woman, before the elders will permit them to be men. The Nambutji custom of a boy-wife, where the subincisor uses the young boy as his wife and then gives him his own daughter, illustrates the meaning of the ritual. The sub-incision opening and the blood-squirting ritual are certainly highly over-determined symptoms of the Central Australian culture area. The boy sees the men running backwards with blood splashing out of the penis, and the men call this ritual ' we two are friends '. What are they showing the boy ? A symbolical coitus in the absence of the female with blood as a substitute for the semen. And why will this make them friends ? Because the latent hostility is based on the attitude of the elders who will not let their sons witness (i.e. participate in) the primal scene. We shall be friends now we are showing you what you wanted—but with super-ego modifications, with the absence of women, and with the castration wound (blood) instead of coitus (semen).

This stress on quantity rather than quality, the importance of pouring forth great quantities of fluid, shows the influence of the urethral libido organization of the child who thinks that in the primal scene the father is urinating into the mother. We shall be friends now and play at who can urinate further. The game mentioned in the paper on sexual life and connected with the totemic ritual fits in with this interpretation, for they urinate into one another's hands and

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[17] *I.e.*, Ontogenetic.

splash the urine of the other into their own face. Another significant fact is that in the sacred songs the blood derived from the penis is called ' milk ', just as Depitarinja equated urine, milk and semen in his games. We can also do what mother can, the men are saying, for we give milk from our penis. Moreover, if we consider that in the food taboos there is a parallelism between the bleeding of the men from the subincision hole and that of the women from the vagina, it looks as if the men were also playing the part of menstruating women, thus increasing the castration anxiety of the younger generation.[18]

In general, we may summarize the situation as follows. The fathers have added a vagina to their penis, they are offering the boys a vaginal father as a safeguard against and substitute for the phallic mother of their infancy. They pay the price of a superabundant symptom formation, but escape the danger of character-transformation. Or rather, to put it more precisely, there is far more socialized symptom formation and far less character-transformation than in other civilizations. In one respect, however, we do find a truly reactive character development, which is evidently based on the initial traumatic situation. In the original situation we have a great proximity to the mother and a strong emotional fixation. The one thing they seem to be demonstrating in the ritual is that they want to keep the women at bay, to separate themselves from the mother. And in the *mbanja* custom and the generally more or less sadistic attitude of the male we have a negation of the strongest emotional ties of infancy. Yet again we must classify the sadism as only partly a reaction formation, for it is also the direct continuation of an id activity, of the penis penetrating into the vagina, of primary maleness.

With a super-ego based mainly on deflected phallic strivings, with a phallic and aggressive ego, and a minimum of reaction formations in character-development, the Aranda is a happy man. When I made inquiries regarding the sanctions against doing things that were forbidden by ritual, I was told that it is *mokunpa*, very sacred or taboo. Further inquiries showed, however, that *mokunpa* means to talk angrily, so that the idea was really that the old men would be angry and might kill the offender by magic or violence. Then I learned that laws were obeyed not from any intrinsic desire to do so, or on account

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[18] Or in a deeper stratum, making themselves especially attractive. (Cf. Daly's papers on this subject.)

of any spirits (which would mean the same thing) [19], but because they were afraid of the old men. Then again, take the rule regarding coitus. Pindupis and Yumus would tell me that no boy should have intercourse before he is initiated and married. Well, what happens if they do? The old men will kill him. Really kill him? Well, if he was not a very obstinate offender, they might be satisfied with spearing him in the leg. But when I came down to facts, it appeared that they had all been having intercourse all their lives. They had simply taken the risk—and that is the key to their happiness. They certainly have a super-ego, but not too much of it, and there is more real danger in their lives than intrapsychical danger. The tortures which in neurosis are inflicted on the ego by the super-ego are here really carried out by the old men at initiation, but not introjected by the young. They are men who get what they want, or, as this is not possible in human conditions, we should say that they get a substitute not too far removed from the original. We know them from cradle to grave and can say: they are not wicked because they do not try to be too good.

When the Lutheran Missionaries began to talk about the doctrine of original sin and to tell these descendants of the eternal dream folk that they were all sinful, wicked beings, they answered with great indignation: *Aranda inkaraka mara.* 'The Aranda are all good.' And in this we heartily agree with our friends of the *tmara* Aranda.

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[19] However the fact that the old men may kill by magic, not only by violence, indicates the beginning of introjection.

VII

TAUHAU AND THE MWADARE

Every society has a characteristic feature, something which strikes the eye of a human being who comes from another society. It seems probable that these peculiarities—from the outsider's point of view—have their roots in tendencies which are universally human, yet particularly accentuated in the group in question. If we regard each type of society as a distinct neurosis, we might speak of the characteristic or governing symptoms of these social systems. There can be no doubt about the fact that food distribution is the governing symptom of Papuan civilization in the Duau area.

The *mwadare* is one type of these food distributions. Instead of explaining *in abstracto* what is meant by a *mwadare* I think it will be more to the point if I give an exact description of one of the *mwadares* which I attended. In this case I was in a particularly favourable situation, for one of the chief personalities concerned in the *mwadare* was Doketa, my *wari esa* (namesake) and particularly confidential informant.

This is how it all started. To Jarere, the *esa esa* (chief) of Gagajowana, married Daiko, Doketa's sister. Now Doketa himself is the *esa esa* of two villages; of Baitahuhuna on the Loboda shore, as his wife has the greatest share of the village lands, and of Wegara, a hill village a few minutes from Gagajowana. Here, since his uncle died, he is chief through his own lands and Daiko is a woman of this village. When chiefs meet, feasts are bound to follow. The festival is really given by To Dimurej, To Jarere's sister, in honour of Daiko, To Jarere's wife. Let us make this point quite clear, as it is sometimes obscured by the ambiguous position of the husband. A *mwadare* is a festival given by a man's sister to his wife or by a man's wife to his sister.

Daiko herself took the initiative. She started by giving little presents of food to To Dimurej, To Jarere's sister, and all her relations. Thus a fish or a specially choice yam or some coconuts would pass from Daiko to To Dimurej. These presents come under the general heading of *sebua*, that is, marriage presents, or more exactly, ceremonial exchange of gifts between in-law relations. The general rules that

regulate Duau presents apply to these gifts. Using the *une*[1] terminology, we might say that they are presents of the *lo-gita* type, their aim being to accumulate a debt on the side of the receiver, which must then be balanced by one large counter-gift. All presents are modelled on this scheme ; you give a little repeatedly, expecting to get one large counter-gift in return. In this special case the presents are called *kamwamwa* = petting, loving, meaning that Daiko shows her love to her sister-in-law and expects to be honoured by a *mwadare* in return. *Kamwamwa* is also the term applied to the relation of the parents to their children and the idea is the same—they expect something in return. This had been going on for some time till in the month of *Kawakawata* (weeding—February, 1930) To Dimurej and her relations began to make a *tolehara*, i.e. piling up of old yams. The pile of old yams they give to Daiko and her *bukunao* (maternal clan group) as a promise of the *mwadare* that is to come later. Now To Dimurej and her group make a new garden of the *sagari*-garden type and it is generally known that this is for the coming *mwadare*. It may be generally known, but it would be bad form to talk about it in public or loudly, it is a thing that should only be mentioned in whispers between those who are the *to-mwadare*, that is, the doers of *mwadare*—those who provide for the *mwadare*. To Dimurej and her group will go and see their garden and if they see that everything is satisfactory, they will whisper to one another ' We had better begin to get the yams out '. Then comes the official announcement ; they tell the Daiko group, represented in this by their *esa esa*, my friend Doketa, ' Get the *seudana* ready '.

For the people of the Duau culture area are always giving presents to one another, indeed this is one of the things they live for. From the point of view of general economics it is difficult indeed to see where the profit resides in this system. For Daiko and her followers have not obtained their *mwadare* for nothing. They have, as we said before, been giving presents all the time to get the *mwadare*. Nevertheless the obligation is not balanced and the *mwadare* has to be answered by a *seudana*. The *seudana* is mainly cooked food, indeed the word means cooked food. All Wegara is busy on the great day. Their honour is at stake to make a proper display. Dogebu, Doketa's brother, and some of his friends are scraping the *niu* (coconut) for the *mona* (clumps of taro boiled in coconut oil). The *mona* is a real festive

[1] *Une* or *kune* is the Dobu-Duau word for Malinowski's *kula* ; cf. *Argonauts of the Western Pacific*.

DOKETA WITH HIS WOMEN-FOLK AND THE POTS FULL OF *MONA* (TARO PUDDING) (see p. 123).

MURI, OR HELPERS. THE MARRIED RELATIONS BRINGING THEIR YAMS TO GAGAJOWANA (see p. 134).

[To face p. 123.

dish. English-speaking natives will call it a pudding. Doketa takes charge of the stirring and is highly flattered at the interest my wife takes in the proceeding. In this case it was a Christmas pudding, I mean an extra special *mona*, as slices of bananas were cooked with the taro. When we wanted to take the photograph reproduced opposite, Doketa stopped me till he had all his pots in array. If his *maka-makajau* (shadow-image) was to be seen by the *dimdim*, let them see him as a real *esa esa* of Duau.

The white man in his ignorance might think that the matter ends there. A *mwadare* has been made and reciprocated by the *seudana*; the two groups are quits. They are not. A *mwadare* must be answered by a *seudana* on the spot and by another *mwadare* some years afterwards.

These types of ceremonial exchange of food in New Guinea are usually said to take place between two different totem groups. Generally this would be the case, as with totemic exogamy. To Jarere's wife Daiko and his sister To Dimurej must belong to different totems. But in this case To Jarere and Daiko have *silobukunao* (killed) relationship, that is, married within their own totem. They are both *gewara* (cockatoo) and therefore *nuhuna* (brother and sister, siblings of different sex) in the classificatory sense. To Dimurej is therefore, if reckoned through the totem, Daiko's *tasina* (sister),[2] but she calls her *ejena* (sister-in-law) as the relationship based on actual marriage overrules that of totem kinship.

The ceremonial exchange of gifts is conducted between individuals. There ought always to be an equal number on each side for the exchange. In this case there are nominally nineteen *mwadare* people and nineteen *seudana* people. But if the number should be smaller on one side, it is the privilege and the duty of an *esa esa* to enter into ceremonial exchange with two or even three members of the other party. On the *to seudana* list the name of Warise figures twice, in opposition to Debori and to Joli. The following list shows the method of food exchange in eleven cases. The real leader of the *to mwadare* side is To Jarere, of the *to seudana* side Daiko, so that the feast might also be regarded as a ceremonial exchange between husband and wife and their respective clan groups. This view is taken by some of the natives themselves. But the husband's position is ambiguous, he helps both his wife and his sister to give presents to each other.

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[2] Siblings of the same sex.

To Mwadare		*To Seudana*	
To Jarere		Daiko	
1. To Dimurej	f.	1. Doketa	m.
2. Mailasija (*natuna*)	f.	2. Meleide (*nuhuna*)	f.
3. Debori (*nuhuna*)	m.	3. Warise (*tasina*)	m.
4. Obeda (*nuhuna*)	m.	4. Memesi (*tasina*)	m.
5. To Maguboj (*nuhuna*)	m.	5. Seguragura (*tasina*)	m.
6. Janeoneo (*nuhuna*)	m.	6. Juda (*wahana*)	m.
7. Nejawesi (*nuhuna*)	m.	7. Kamujarowa (*jehana*)	m.
8. Gailuweni (*sinana*)	f.	8. Nunumore (*nibana*)	m.
9. To Dinare (*nuhuna*)	m.	9. Seugwau (*nibana*)	f.
10. Tamijarijawa (*tamana*)	m.	10. Weiloba (*wahana*)	m.
11. Joli (*tasina*)	f.	11. Warise (same person as 3).[3]	

The relationship names in brackets indicate the relationship of the person in question with number 1 on his own side. The ceremonial exchange is between corresponding numbers, between 1 and 1, and between 2 and 2.

We have said that the exchange is conducted between two groups of *bukunao*, that is, members of the same matrilineal clan. But if we look through the list we find on the *mwadare* side To Dimurej's father (10), on the *seudana* side Doketa's brother-in-law (7) and two cross-cousins (8, 9) who have no business to be there according to the rule. But thus it is with nearly all the *bubuna* (customs) of Duau. Theory is one thing and real life another thing. Father, cousin, brother-in-law step in and take the place of the real relations just to show their good will. Officially all these feasts or food distributions are meant to emphasize the mutual good will between two intermarrying groups. It is therefore very interesting to note the explanation given by Doketa of the theoretical equality of numbers on each side. He said *mwadare gidemusa saija*, the *mwadare* is like war, each fighter having his (or her) personal antagonist. The " fight " has a well-defined order of its own. When we walk into the hill village of Gagajowana we notice two structures. One of them is the *siwapa* or tower, the other a slanting timber with a superstructure of boughs: the *mwadare*. The tower is filled by long yams, or rather the long yams (*pwanikau*) are arrayed in a row and will be put into the tower afterwards. The ordinary round yams are piled up in cubes and will be put into the

[3] Sinana = mother. Tamana = father. Wahana = mother's brother. Jehana = brother-in-law. Nibana = cross-cousin.

mwadare. They have been brought into the village from the gardens of the *to mwadare* group, are put into the *mwadare* house and then handed out to the *seudana* side. These promptly answer with a *seudana*, that is, cooked food, or raw yams which have been made symbolically equivalent to cooked food by having a little skin scratched off with the *kaira* (shell). Now it is again the turn of the *mwadare* people and the *seudana* side get the long yams from the tower.

The ceremonial exchange relationship between the two groups does not end with the actual feast. They are now in the position of *gumagi* ("my betel-nut") to each other and are continually exchanging presents. Thus the *mwadare* people will send the *seudana* people a *kihikihi* (big basket with yams), and they answer with the *mona*. This state of *gumagi* relation lasts till all the yams are taken out of the *mwadare* house, that is, from the middle of June (date of the feast) till about the end of November. Then the *damasi* feast is celebrated and the remaining yams are taken out of the *mwadare* and eaten with the *damasi* (palolo) worm. If we go into the matter still further, we find out that there are two kinds of *mwadare*. The first is always in honour of the wife and the initiative is taken by the husband's sister (or clan). This is called *hada muri*, or 'following house', evidently because To Jarere's people as married relations are the *muri* (followers, helpers) of Daiko's group in all ceremonial affairs. But in some years it will be Daiko's turn to reciprocate the attention. She will now make another *mwadare*, called in this connection *hada bwabware*. It is not quite so easy to explain this name as that of the *hada muri*. *Bwabware* really means taboo, but the word is also the name of a mortuary feast in which the married relations of a dead person pass yams to the clan relations of the same person in order to be released from their mourning. The *mwadare* made by Daiko for To Dimurej and her group is a *bwabware* from this point of view; the yams pass from To Jarere's married relations to his clan relations. *Hada muri*, they tell me, is always first; it is for the women. *Hada bwabware* is the answer; it is for the men. In this again To Jarere and his sister are confused or are regarded as a unity. In point of fact it is not Daiko, but Doketa who will bear the expenses of the feast, the present *seudana* people will then be *mwadare* people and *vice versâ*. Another name for the answering *mwadare* is '*iura kara sa koilina*' (long timber carry turning back), that is, reciprocity for the long timber (*mwadare*).

Although, as we said before, the *hada bwabware* is sometimes said to be made for the husband, it is evident that it is really made for the

husband's sister. For women are prominent in the whole ceremonial of the *mwadare*. If you ask anybody what is the difference between a *mwadare* and a *sagari* they will always say, ' The *mwadare* is made for the women, the *sagari* for the dead '. There are three paths that take a woman to this much coveted honour. Daiko received it for her munificence. Saimoni's wife Lisi was rewarded by Saimoni's sister Dosi with a *mwadare* for her good conduct. This *mwadare* took place on the last day of July in the year 1930 at Kahwatuna. Lisi had always behaved well, she was never known to have been a *sogara* (lewd woman), and she had stayed with her husband's people instead of her own people for a long time. A third reason for giving a *mwadare* is that the wife has given birth to several children. Therefore, if at the Gagajowana *mwadare* Doketa tells me that To Jarere is *toni-mwadare* he really means To Jarere's wife Daiko. The point is really this : the woman is prominent in theory and ritual, the husband (or brother) takes her place in society and practice.

But alas, for the glory of Duau ! An expert in the *baita* magic had to be brought from the Guj country. True, it was not too bad that they had to fetch Naidej, because he is To Jarere's brother in the totemic sense. So a few weeks before the feast actually took place they cut the timber on which the *mwadare* house will be constructed with the following incantation :

BAITA

To Madawa where and does it grow . . . Sawatupwa river at its mouth . . . I have broken it . . . Cut chopping chopping . . . *Ija, ija, ija, ijo !* (Refrain.)

Baita is the Loboda word for the more usual *bwajawe* (root), meaning, a magic performed in order to ward off hunger from the village. It is sometimes performed before the hunger month to make the stores last, but usually in connection with a feast. The distribution of the food causes anxiety both that the display may not be sufficiently impressive and that there will be no food left after the feast. And where there is anxiety there is magic to bind that anxiety. The word *To Madawa* has many meanings. For one thing the *mwadare* house itself is really *ke madawa*, a *madawa* thing and only loosely called a *mwadare*. *Madawa* is the short type of Tube-tube canoe, just as at the return feast when they make a longer house they will call it *ke-paura*, the word for a long Tube-tube canoe. They are cutting the timber for the ' canoe ' which is to be filled with yams at the feast. But To

Madawa is also the name of a village, and this village is situated at the mouth of the Sawatupwa river. However, this seems to give no intelligible meaning to the incantation. You can't say of a village ' where does it grow ', or ' I break it ', or ' chop it '. What the song really means is not the village, but the mythical world-tree, the mango, that grew at Sawatupwa. Thus the timber which is the basis of the *mwadare* house is symbolically equated with the world-tree. The reasons for this equation will be made clear when we discuss the mythological background of the feast. Finally, the word *to madawa* really means the dugong—and thereby hangs another story. At last the tree is cut and now the To Jarere group all help Naidej to bring it out of the jungle. There is another *ñabwasua* (magic) for this.

To-dibwau feast its timber I hit it on the top . . . I make shout shouting . . . Very many pile up, food filled up . . . I spread the leaves out . . . I break it. *Ija, ija, ija, ijo.*

They sing this when they carry the tree out to the village, and the greater the noise they make the better. They handle the huge trunk as if it were an ordinary drum. Asking for further explanations, we are introduced to the mythological personage who, like Herakles for the Olympic games, is the *heros eponymos* of the whole festival.

To-dibwau means the shouter, something that makes a noise, the drum, and is applied here to the timber. When Tauhau made the first *mwadare*, he cut a *to-dibwau* tree for his feast. Everything that is done at a *mwadare*, all that they have at a *mwadare*, is but a feeble copy of what Tauhau did and of what Tauhau had at the first *mwadare*. Though crowned with a laurel wreath the Olympian victor is no Herakles. And so great is the fame of the hero that even this original *mwadare* was for him merely a toy! Therefore everything connected with a *mwadare* is called

Tauhau his playing thing.

After having been told that Tauhau himself is the author of this song, we are informed that the whole thing is really a myth of the white man (*dimdim mumuga*), for Tauhau was a white man. The song requires some explanation. ' I spread the leaves out ' means the leaves for the yam in the pot, but ' I break it ' means again the *mwadare* house. No more magic is performed till the day arrives for the feast. Both the *mwadare* and the *seudana* side, that is, roughly, the *toni asa* (owner village ; people who live in their inherited matrilineal village) of Gagajowana and Wegara, are busy with preparations. To Jarere's

honour is at stake, still more Doketa's, who is the greater *esa esa* of the two. The *mwadare* people seem to have made greater progress in their preparations, for, one week after Whitsuntide, Doketa tells me that he cannot stay with me any longer at Bwaruada. His uncle Kauanamo has sent a message to him that he is to hurry and get ready with the *seudana*. So he goes home to Loboda and a few days afterwards we follow on the whaleboat. Our tent is pitched at Baitahuhuna, the shore village of Loboda, where Doketa is chief. Before we go up to the hill I make the acquaintance of Lobeseni, Doketa's *bwasiana* (father-in-law), and have a talk with him seated on the platform of his house. The old man is a courteous host, but nothing can tempt him to come as an informant. For who does not know in Duau that Lobeseni is *barau karena*, the trunk of the *barau* (black magic) ? The Government puts the *barau* into the jail, the white missionary disapproves of it, and after all, the *dimdim* all go together. He is afraid that if he once starts to talk he will say too much. He is no friend of anthropology, and he tells the others ' You will catch yourself in your own net ' by talking to Doketa (myself).

He gives me some advice as to the path we are to choose uphill—and very bad advice it was too. Finally we reach Gagajowana, a small village on the top of the hill overlooking the sea. The gardens which supplied the funds for the feast are on the slope. In the village the *siwapa* and the *mwadare* are conspicuous. The *siwapa* is in the back corner. It consists of long thin sticks in a circle held together by palm-string at certain intervals ; when filled up with the long yams the whole thing can be described as a tower. From this tower to the other end of the village the *pwanikau* are lying in a very neat, tidy row, decorated prettily with the red *dili* leaves.

The centre of the village is occupied by the *mwadare*. Held by posts increasing in height as we go further from the opening, the timber that has been brought out from the wood with due ceremony is in a slanting position. Above the timber we have cross-pieces and on top of these boughs held together in a circular position by palm-string. In front of the *mwadare* house is a long row of yam piles. All those who are on the *mwadare* side helped to build the house, but Naidej was their leader. The house is just high enough for a man to sit in it cross-legged and it gets narrower at the back or top end. Hence this side is usually occupied by young boys, in this case by Dimurej's son Nagote. Beside him there is Dainoino, To Dimurej's brother ; Naidej, the *baita* expert ; To Maguboj and Obeda (brothers) ; and one woman,

Joli (sister), sitting in the house. The house inside is perfectly stifling and very dark. Piles of yam are handed into the house, and as it is gradually filled up with yams, it is gradually emptied of people.

When we arrive there is a great crowd, but perfect order. Loboda is here to-day, so is Guj and Dauwada. After having seen feasts in other districts, one notices at the first glance that Loboda is the real cultural centre of Duau. Properly speaking the name Duau should be applied to this district only, but because of the importance of the district, it has been extended to the whole island. The people of Sipupu or Boasitoroba are merely *manibusi* (bushmen). What can they do? Eat snakes, that is all! But we are *une* people (in the *kula* ring); that is quite different, Doketa tells me.

The group of people seated in the *mwadare* are singing *baita* all the while. It sounds more like some Oriental prayer than like the Australian songs I am used to. Naidej begins with this *baita:*

Heron its neck I have pulled back . . . I pull have made it shorter! . . . That loading (of yams) full it poured out . . . *Ija, ija, ijo, ijo!*

The long *mwadare* house is compared to a heron's neck. By the song the neck will be made shorter and it will be easier to fill it up. The load of yams is so big, the house is full and the yams come pouring out again. This is the prologue to the feast, now they begin to fill the house. Each pile of yams is moved quite close to the entrance, the men who sit next to the door open it just a little and two standing outside hand them the yams. Then the yam passes from hand to hand up to Nagote seated at the top end, who begins to pile it up inside. When there is no more room for him to sit because of the yams, he moves one section downwards, all the other inmates moving too to make room. The one who sits nearest to the entrance then emerges and joins those who stand outside. There is a very good reason why they have to pass the yams in through an opening as narrow as possible. For each time the house is opened, the *barau*, who are trying to spoil the feast and deprive the *toni-mwadare* of his glory, get a chance to send their evil magic into the very heart of the *mwadare*. Hence opening the house means danger and should be avoided as far as possible.

The text of the next *baita* runs as follows:

Spot of blood (*burerara*) its pile I piled up . . . the *madawa* . . . Vomit vomit come out. *Ija, ija, ija, ijo.*

Burerara is translated literally by ' spot of blood.' Really the *burerara* are a kind of witch living in the sky and seen in the falling stars. They are the women who devour the crew of a shipwrecked canoe when they are drowning or drowned. When somebody has had too much food, his stomach is too full, he will vomit—thus the *madawa* is the overfilled inside of a human being. Whenever the people standing outside pass another heap into the house, they first scrape the yams with a shell and both groups (inside and outside) sing the following *baita :*

Tauhau his pig . . . Its fat at Imuna point on the shore cut in many pieces . . . In the mouth is filled . . . In the mouth dropping out . . . I put drop drop . . . It lies all over. *Ija, ija, ija, ijo.*

When Tauhau made a new canoe he killed a pig for the feast, but it was so fat that the people did not care to eat it. On the shore of Imuna point it was lying cut into pieces, and when anybody put a piece into his mouth, he felt as if he had had enough already and dropped the fat meat out again. So with the yams, there will be so many that they drop out of the *kawa* (mouth, door, entrance) of the house and also, the people will not want them and leave them all there.

This song is repeated between all the other *baitas,* but the next that follows the *burerara* one in the order of singing throws some light on the unconscious meaning of the whole ceremony :

Woman asking continually (*jokijokikima*) . . . Road man in the middle . . . She and her own husband . . . He shouted to her . . . He kept asking till they came out . . . He kept asking till they emerged . . . This *madawa* its fear of it . . . Those who fear it . . . He asks and asks till coming out. *Ija, ija, ija, ijo.*

A man and his wife are coming out of the bush to the village. He wants to have intercourse with her in the middle of the road ; this is his continual asking and shouting. She refuses this ; he is asking too much in making this demand. Those who are afraid that the yams will not be enough to fill the house say that the man who sings the *baita* is in a similar position, he will not be able to fill the house (cohabit with the woman) with his yams. But it is not only the man, it is also the woman who is *jokijokikima* (insatiable). Therefore we may infer that the house symbolizes an insatiable womb, or the fear of the male that his penis (the yams) will be too small to fill up the vagina (coitus) or the womb (procreation). The characteristic thing about this *baita*

is that it was first ' forgotten ', i.e. repressed, by Naidej when he gave me an account of the songs. The songs were written down after the ceremony ; it would not have been possible to do so in the crowd. But from things so profane we ascend to a nobler realm, and Jaboajne the High God himself appears in the next incantation :

Jaboajne his food shelf (*sahehe*) . . . It broke and let us (*ta*) out . . . It broke let it (*ta*) fall down. *Ija, ija, ija, ijo.*

Sahehe is the small platform hanging under the roof of the house where they might keep some food stores. The *madawa* house is Jaboajne's food store, it is so full that it breaks and the yams fall out. The explanation says the yams, but grammar says the singers themselves (*ta* = we). They identify themselves with the yams which ultimately take their place in the house. But perhaps we have not far to go to find the links that connect the ever-desirous husband and his insatiable wife with Jaboajne and his store of food. For Jaboajne is the creator of the first human couple and it is he who fashions the child in the mother's womb. The second song from the series that was sung at Kahwatuna throws further light on the situation :

Jaboajne his semen dropped out . . . I shall stop it close it . . . Mainina yam and bunebune yam . . . I shall stop it close it . . . I shall stop it gather it . . . Bunebune yam mainina yam . . . Their magic (*bwajawe*) I plant . . . I shall stop it close it . . . I shall stop it gather it . . . Carrying in it drops out for me . . . Put in it falls out again.

There is a difference of opinion regarding the interpretation of the first line. Kaubwana, the man who gives me the magic, is a fundamentalist, and will accept only a literal interpretation. He calls a spade a spade, and Jaboajne's semen is Jaboajne's semen. Others, however, in whom the true spirit of orthodoxy has been smothered by the lies of the modernists, will regard this line as *ona semalimali* (symbolic talk), and they say that Jaboajne's semen means the yam. Let us try a *juste milieu* explanation, something that will satisfy both parties, and say that Jaboajne, the male, fertilizes the womb of women just as the magician fertilizes the *mwadare* house by putting the yams in through the *kawa*. *Kawa* or mouth is used for door, but it is also an euphemism for the vagina. The house symbolizes the womb of a pregnant woman, and when we see the people coming out through the *kawa* we have witnessed a symbolical birth. On August 20, Jarekeni and his sister Manudeli made a *mwadare* at Quajaija for Jarekeni's wife

Manisi. Jarekeni with his brother Sikele and his sister Manudeli are sitting in the house, and they sing the following incantation :

Dutuna point dark cave . . . Where darkness only . . . You are dark covering me . . . where frightening you only . . . bunebune yam Samuroro yam . . . You are dark covering me . . . Talk proud house its where darkness only . . . The children little ones they went up climbed up . . . They climbed up it broke . . . It was broken completely . . . It covered covered me . . . Where dark cave you only . . . where darkness only . . . Talk proud house its . . . Its taboo moving about that . . . Taboo to walk about . . . It lies lying . . . It weighs down sleeping . . . Mainina yam and bunebune yam . . . Where dark cave only . . . You are dark it covers me . . . Where darkness only . . . It lies lying . . . It is heavy sleeping . . . Dutuna point dark cave . . . The children little ones they have climbed up on it . . . It is broken . . . It has covered covered me !

We shall have to give a free translation of this to make it intelligible :—

' O dark cave of the witches at Dutuna ! Cave in which there is nothing but darkness ! Your darkness encompasses and terrifies me ! Bunebune yam and samuroro yam ! You are in the dark cave that covers me ! ' The dark cave in which there is nothing but darkness is the *mwadare* house and how proud we are of our feast ! And when the little children went up into the house, it broke down because of the weight of our yams ! This cave of complete darkness it is the source of our pride ! Taboo for the yams to move about, taboo for them to walk about. No *barau* can steal them ! There they lie, the mainina and the bunebune yam in a great heap sleeping in the witches' cave where there is nothing but darkness. Darkness that covers me completely ! The little children go up, it breaks down, it covers me.' The identification of the human beings with the yams is again the key to the incantation and the ritual. The little children are Jarekeni with his brother and sister ; they are sitting in the dark cave in the house where sleep reigns supreme. They themselves are the sleeping yams, and if the pile of yams is so great as to break the house down, why then the oven is broken, as they say in Silesia, and the children are born ! It is taboo to make the yams move about, to steal the child from the mother. Now we can also understand why the magician keeps saying that he is frightened of the darkness of the huge *mwadare* house and why he scarcely believes that he will be able

to fill it with his yams ; because the house symbolizes not merely any woman, but the maternal womb. A second look at the incantation given by Kaubwana reveals more of the interplay of wish-fulfilment and anxiety than was visible at the first glance. For the magician wants to prevent something from dropping out, that is, he closes the penis, so that the seminal fluid should not drop out, he closes the vagina, so that the child will not be born and will not be separated from the mother. If the semen does not drop out, there is no danger of committing incest and the child-mother relation can be enjoyed in innocence. The reference to the *bwajawe* contains another type of wish-fulfilment. While he is singing this Kaubwana has planted a big yam under the *mwadare* house. Although the word *bwajawe* really means root, it means also a stone (also called *kegumu* stone) fixed in the ground so that it cannot move and thereby preventing the yams of the village from moving away. In this case it is the yam-stone, i.e. a yam. And the wish-fulfilment ? It is tainted with anxiety. The yam is not to move in the earth, the penis in the vagina. Finally the last two lines refer to the yam-penis that is put in and the yam-child that comes out again.

It is time to come back from the realms of the unconscious and behave again like a well-bred anthropologist. That is, we resume the thread of our narrative.

The song following the one about Jaboajne's store-house again contains the motive of something breaking down.

Tanonadi hill . . . Tanonadi it is broken . . . He made shouting . . . He made crying . . . *Ija, Ija, Ija, Ijo.*

Tanonadi is a hill near the village of Sijausi in Duau. Tauhau himself witnessed the catastrophe and when the hill broke down he shouted *u ! u ! u !*

With this incantation the last men who were in the house come out. It is now completely full, but there are still piles of yam outside. I do not know whether it is really full, but such is the technique of the ritual that one or two piles are always left over, so as to give the impression that they were not able to put all the yams in the house. In the meanwhile the heaps of yam keep increasing by new supplies. We have described the *mwadare* as a ceremonial food exchange carried on between two groups, i.e. the wife's *bukunao* and the husband's (sister's) *bukunao.* However, this description is incomplete. For a ceremony of this kind means for Duau society what a stone thrown into

a lake means for the surface of the water; wider and wider circles become visible. To Jarere has married Daiko, therefore To Jarere's brothers, sisters, uncles and mothers have certain ceremonial obligations with regard to the same group of relations on Daiko's side. On the other hand, all the members of the Daiko group and those of the To Jarere group are also married and these married relations are the *muri* of their married relations. Therefore we have *muri* pouring in all day to help either the *seudana* side or the *mwadare* side. The first group comes from the Wegara side, they are the women of Dauwada and the yams they are carrying will augment the supply of the *seudana* side. They are Doketa's *muri* because his daughter Ilebouma is *ai poara* (children's engagement) to Gidione of Dauwada. The next group comes from the same direction; here are the women of Wegara bringing their *seudana* yams. The third group is a mixed one, there are women from Dauwada, Wegara, Guj and Majawa. The Guj people are here because Obeda, To Dimurej's brother, has a Guj wife and they are now *muri* on the *mwadare* side. Majawa comes for both sides, they act as *muri* without being obliged to do so, just for friendship's sake. Finally the fourth group arrives considerably later. There are more men than women in this group, and they come in better order and larger numbers. This is Loboda headed by the old chief Lobeseni. They are *muri* on the *mwadare* side because To Dimurej's husband Menjo is a Loboda man. Finally the *mwadare* house is, or is officially, full. What happens now looks very much as if a general quarrel was about to put an end to the whole feast. One old woman stands up under one of the houses and shouts something in a high-pitched voice. The answer will come in a similar manner from another house. In reality, this quarrelling is an essential part of the ritual, like the '*aischrologia*' in Greece.[1] The first to speak is To Dimurej, To Jarere's sister. She says:—

'You close it . . . I go and I talk brother across! . . . Before he lied to us . . . Kaukauwa path I came down and Gagajowana path I went up . . . The glare hurt me of the sun'.

That is: 'Close the house now, I am going to give my brother a piece of my mind! You always used to tell me I walked up the path and came down the path in the hot weather to work in your garden on the slope of the hill and at the seashore. And what about you,

[1] Cf. M. P. Nilsson: *Griechische Feste von religiöser Bedeutung*, 1906, pp. 176–450.

you are not making a *mwadare* for my wife!' From the height of her triumph she says this, for here the house is closed, it is full of yams, and her brother's talk was a lie. The next to speak is Ganibu. Her husband, To Jara Jara, is To Dimurej's brother. She says:—

'You close it . . . Her yams she can come and she can take! . . . He brought them back where yams good, this yam bad!'

This refers to troubles in the family. Her yams are also in the *mwadare* house, so she says with pride: 'Now Daiko come and take them!' For her husband has wounded her pride and affection. When she brought him yams from her garden, he returned them and said that they were bad ones. But she knows what duty means, she has acted as *muri* for her husband and put her yams in the house. The third woman who has something to say is Magiseura, sister of To Dimurej. Her words are addressed to Daiko, the *primadonna* of the day:—

'My child fatherless how and her aunt then hers they make *mwadare!*'

She is repeating what Daiko used to say: 'Has my daughter no father and therefore no aunts, so that there is nobody to make a *mwadare* for her?'. See the house full of yams and the triumph at having refuted this libel. But old Gailowej, mother of To Jarere and To Dimurej, beats them all in the screaming competition. Her words are addressed to her daughter-in-law Daiko:—

'You close it! . . . at Gagajowana I weeded . . . when one for me makes *mwadare!*

'I weeded at your village and there is nobody to make a *mwadare* for me!' Daiko said: 'It is a day of triumph for Gagajowana and it behoves Wegara to be as modest as possible'. Old Kejarugej, Daiko's mother, answers: 'You *mwadare* body quiet finished mine'. That is, don't be too proud, with your *mwadare*, we cannot make a proper return, for there are few who are still alive at Wegara. And she finishes this oration with a jump.

We had better explain here what all this means. This is the *ona raga* (talk up) or *ona gagase* (talk proud) that is always mentioned in the *baita*. The reproach of being *ose* (stingy) or *goma besobeso* (person ordinary, i.e. no gardener), if even hinted at in ever so mild a way, stings the Papuan to the quick. The question: when are you going to make a *mwadare?* implicitly contains the accusation that you either cannot make one because of your poverty, or will

not do so because of your selfish nature. But it would be a gross breach of decency if the person in question were to answer back with hard words; the only possible answer is to get ready for the *mwadare* and to celebrate it with as great a festive show as possible. Therefore the proud words; they have shown their wealth and triumphed over Daiko. For the *mwadare* is *gidemusa saija*—like war.

The Papuan is essentially capitalistic in his way of looking at things and there is no argument against wealth. I remember a quarrel between two old women in which one of them effectually humiliated her opponent by saying: 'My children always eat *suasua*'. *Suasua* is the king of yam usually reserved for feasts and the fact that her children got *suasua* every day showed that she must have large and well-kept gardens. 'Dieu aime les forts battalions', Napoleon said, and the Papuan says: 'Truth goes with the larger purse'.

But the *siwapa* is still empty. The long row of long yams has not been touched. Now that the women have had their say, the men take the lead in the feast. Naidej, the *to-baita* of the Guj country, takes his adze and slowly walks up and down the row of yams singing a *baita*. Each yam must be touched ceremonially with the adze. This is the *baita* he sings:—

Snake taking Ekarata in its cave . . . You dance horrible . . . You dance they are afraid . . . Pile (of) fame pile heap . . . Pile higher always higher . . . Pile it is moving. *Ija, ija, ija, ijo.*

The song refers to a mythical snake, the ancestress of all the Guj people. She gave birth to a human daughter, but when she danced real people were too frightened to come and see her. But her daughter married a human being and they became the parents of all Guj people. This is the myth, but in the *baita* the snake symbolizes the long sticks that hold the pile. The men now sit down in a circle round the *siwapa* and begin piling it up.

Rasihana point . . . rohoisa tree breeze blowing up . . . Pull turning it . . . Your village it is covered (*ihujosi*) . . . Your village it is full (*igerasi*). *Ija, ija, ija, ijo.*

Rasihana is a long point at Quanaura where Duau proper ends with Dutuna point, and the country called Bunama begins. Its length makes it a fit metaphor for the tower. Like the leaves of the *rohoisa* tree fluttering in the wind that blows up from the sea are the *babaga* (dili) leaves that decorate the yams!

The wind pulls the tower, trying to turn it over. *Ihujosi*, translated

as 'it is covered', means also 'happiness', usually rendered as *Igerasi*, 'it breaks', but here only means 'it is full'. The village is happy, it is full of yams. The tower is divided into two parts at about two-thirds of its length by a string. From the ground to this line the *to mwadare* fill it with their *pwanikau*, above the line the *muri* must go on building their tower of Babel.

The talk of the men that follows is a real *ona raga* (talk up), as these speeches are delivered from the top of the tower. Obeda is the first to climb up. He says :—

'My basket do not you put your hand in it! . . . My betelnut you have taken . . . By and by my pig you shall kill!'

Daiko again! She said to her *ejena* (brother-in-law) Obeda when the latter plunged into her basket, 'You have taken my betelnut, you must compensate me by killing a pig for me!' Now he is triumphant. He has got the pig and towards the end of the feast it is taken to Wegara, there to be distributed by Doketa among his own people. Doketa, of course, answers with another pig, which travels in the opposite direction and is divided by To Dimurej. Down comes Obeda and To Dinare climbs up the tower. He speaks :—

'With his brother they were always asking . . . and one we cried for . . . one for him we worked'.

A brother of To Jarere's died before and we cried at his burial. These two brothers were always saying 'What about the *mwadare* for our wives! One is dead, we have made it for the other.' To Dinare is also *tasina* to the dead man and to To Jarere. But he is not a real *tasina*, they have the same grandmother. He represents the matrilineal clan as against two of its members. You have always been bothering us about *mwadares!* The next spokesman is Nejawesi, another brother of To Dimurej. He is speaking in the name of Gagajowana and his speech is against the overbearing arrogance of the Loboda people, their *muri* relations. He has chosen the right moment for a theatrical effect. Loboda has just arrived, led by Lobeseni, who is in the best of spirits because the feast is a great success and because he knows I am there and he smells tobacco in the air. 'Sit down', he tells his people, 'because you stink too much.' They joke back: 'You stand up, they will take your photo'. 'Certainly', he says, 'I think I shall climb up that tree.' Now is the moment for Nejawesi to deliver his speech :—

'Gągajowana children only . . . If one man big (important) . . . And our daughters their *mwadare* . . . they make a *mwadare* and this like anus excrement only!'

So we are only children and there is not a single *esa esa* among our people! You (Loboda and others) reproached us that we were slow to make a *mwadare* for your daughters! We are only children who cannot wipe the fæces off after defecation! Look at this! And with a triumphant flourish, he throws the betelnuts from the top of the tower. A general scramble ensues and Gagajowana can see the men of Loboda first and foremost among those who rush to pick up their betelnuts.

But the last word has a second meaning, and this is the real *ona gagasa*. It means, all this wealth we are distributing to-day is a mere trifle; it is the excrement that remains in the anus of a child after defecation! We are so rich, this is all it means to us!

We have been at Gagajowana from morning to the afternoon and the feast is nearly finished. What remains is the division. The *to seudana* are now *toke mwadare* (eaters of the *mwadare*), that is, those who provided for the *seudana* will eat the *mwadare*. But this will be at *damasi* time. Now, however, one or two piles of yam are taken out of the *mwadare* house, the *baitas* are repeated, and the yams scraped with a shell to symbolize that they have become cooked food, that is, food intended for immediate consumption. It is given to all *kune* (present or stranger) people, that is, those who are connected with the *seudana* side. This is where I get my share as Doketa's friend and namesake. In the meanwhile the *seudana* has been brought over from Wegara and is arrayed in the background of the village. Doketa is the central figure here with his women folk grouped round him.

The *seudana* is divided by the leaders on the *mwadare* side, To Dimurej and Nejailoni, To Jarere's sisters, and To Dinare, Obeda, Maa, Sigaja, Debori, his brothers. But many *kune* people came in honour of Gagajowana's great day, so that most of the food is passed on to the people of Loboda, Dauwada and Guj. Lobeseni gets a large share because he is a great chief, Deligogo of Majawa because he is old, Kauanamo's nephew, Anageidi of Loboda, because he is the mission teacher, and finally Naidej and Seuma, both as *baita* experts and as representing the people of Guj.

In the meanwhile there is great excitement at Daiko's house. Daiko is distributing *gwegwe* (goods, *une* things) to the prominent people on the *mwadare* side. To Dimurej gets a *mwari* and some long

yams, Debori also, while Obeda gets a *mwahuhu* (nose shell) with his *pwanikau*. On the other side of the *mwadare* house a wild scramble ensues for a pile of yams. The origin of this pile is as follows. The people of Loboda, Dauwada and Majawa were the *muri* or helpers of Gagajowana. They assisted the Gagajowana people in making a great display and hence they had the right to expect presents themselves. This was the *kune* which they got from the *seudana*, that is, from Wegara yams distributed by the Gagajowana people. Then again they compensate Gagajowana for its generosity and make up a pile of yams to be scrambled for by the *toni-asa* (owners of the village).

The sun sets, the excitement subsides, groups of men and women march down the hill to the shore or go further inland with the spoils of the day.

What does it all mean ? Gagajowana and Wegara have both been working hard in order to discharge what they regarded as a duty, as a debt weighing on their minds. Ground that would have remained *pwatura* (jungle) has been turned into *tanoa* (cultivated ground); everybody has given and received presents. But though on the face of it we find pure hospitality, generosity and goodwill on all sides, we have only to dig skin-deep to find that all this is only a reaction-formation against hostility. Obeda gives a pig to Daiko's people because she resented his intrusions into her store of betelnuts. Gagajowana in general is giving things to people who spoke scandal of them in the past. Their giving is a form of aggressiveness to be returned by a similar attack on the other side, for *mwadare gidemusa saija*. Also we must not forget that the *mwadare* is a sort of finale to a series of presents that have been interchanged between two groups of *bukunao* who are *quabunao* (married relations) to each other. Now that they have filled a house for Daiko, her social standard among the people of Gagajowana is assured.

If we ask the people of Duau for an explanation they will tell us that Tauhau made the first *mwadare* and they imitate his proceedings. Perhaps his myth contains the clue to the ceremony.

Tauhau lived at Gesiwe, a village under the spirit hill of Bwebweso. There were two Tauhaus, Tauhau the elder and Tauhau the younger. The elder Tauhau wanted to build a canoe and he took a creeper called *rumaruma* as his string to join the pieces together. This is a weak creeper which will soon be torn, but the younger Tauhau took the right sort, a proper string creeper for his canoe. Both canoes were ready and they paddled out together, and came back together. When

young Tauhau's canoe came back the elder Tauhau's wife came down and threw the yams at him according to present custom. He caught her by the arm, put her on his canoe and pushed off. The elder Tauhau gave chase with his young men, but the creeper gave way and he had to give it up. The young Tauhau came to Dutuna point with the woman. They ate, they slept there one night and at daybreak they paddled again. Then they arrived at the village of Imuna and here they stayed.

'So her name woman that Woman Sea-crab (Sine Gagarojroj) . . . Then with her brother they went down to the sea . . . Shell they saw . . . Then woman from she dived and brother that her bad thing (vagina) he saw . . . Then they went back and that man became sick.'

The narrator has made no transition. We have not heard of Sine Gagarojroj before, and the only woman mentioned in the story was the wife first of the elder, now of the younger Tauhau. In fact, when he said 'that woman', I thought he meant the wife, till he said 'with her brother'. She knows her brother is not really sick but only pretending, and when her mother complains that he refuses to eat yams, she tells her what happened.

'Then water nut she put in basket and she called him brother that and they went to the river. . . . Then they did bad (cohabited) 'they killed family' (committed incest) with the brother and so she stood up and their semen[5] dropped out . . . became a boy and so he cried 'My father My mother' . . . and then father that called back he said: Your mother her vagina into you go in . . . and then they came back to the village.'

When they came back to the village they tied their pig up. But the pig seems to have had an idea that they were preparing for a feast. It broke its string and ran away. Tauhau was chewing his betelnut, he had mixed it with lime but had not added the pepper. Off he ran after the pig and the pepper was on his navel, right across his body. He stretched his tongue out to get the pepper, and with his hand he caught the pig. When he looked at his outstretched tongue he saw that it was red. So he went in search of the pepper, tore the leaves off and brought it home. Till that time all *nigonigogo* (supernatural) people had used the centipede as their pepper, he threw the centipede

[5] 'Their semen' because the word used means both semen and vaginal discharge; cf. Malinowski, *Sexual Life of Savages*, London, 1929, p. 285.

away, and that is why there are so many centipedes at Imuna. Then they killed the pig, cut it into pieces and put it on the platform. Tauhau divides the flesh, but keeps the belly for himself. In the afternoon he brought a basin to wash the belly and started taking the excrements out. But when he opened the belly there were no excrements in it ; it was full of *bagi* and *mwari*.[6] Holding together many *mwaris* in his hand he threw them to Murua, and then he did the same with the *bagi*. This is how the *kune* originated.

The story-teller informs me that the pig was the property of Tauhau and his wife. But he comes out of the jungle with his sister and the story does not reintroduce the wife. According to Doketa, the sister and the wife are one and the same person. The pig was for the *mwadare*, and it was Tauhau who made the first *mwadare* at Imuna for his sister-wife Sine Gagarojroj. We are now told that all customs are derived from Tauhau.

'Customs (all) from Tauhau are derived wealth circle, feasts, *mwadare*, making canoes, incest, chewing, love magic, magic for plenty protective magic.'

It is further explained that as *karena* (origin) of the *kune*, Tauhau is also the inventor of all *kajowa* (*kune* magic). Being the perpetrator of the first incest, he is the source and origin of all *sigaha* (love magic) ; and having made the first *sagari* and *mwadare*, he also invented the *baita*.

But as I said before, the people of Loboda thought I ought to be an authority on Tauhau. This is a *dimdim !* What did Tauhau look like ? Like you, his skin was just like your skin, they told me.

Hail therefore to the Pharaoh, the Child of the Sun, and his sister-wife, the Queen of Lower and Upper Egypt bearing the standard of archaic civilization right to the *mitawa* (jungle) of Duau. Can there be any doubt about it ? Is it not on evidence of this kind that the foundations of the great pyramid of conjecture have been erected by Elliot Smith and Perry ?

However, let us go on with our narrative and see whither it leads us. There are two Imunas, one at Missima, one near Dutuna point at Loboda. *Grammatici certant* as to which is the right one, yet on the whole public opinion at least at Duau is in favour of Dutuna point.

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[6] *Bagi* = neck shell. *Mwari* = arm shell. The articles that circulate in the *kune*.

This is the village that is definitely associated with the little Tauhau, while the big Tauhau lived at Gesiwe, between Sawatajtaj and Mwatebu. Tauhau the elder is the *nibana* of another hero of mythological fame, of Kasabwaibwaileta. From Tewara they went to Gesiwe. Kasabwaibwaileta began to make the canoe and his cousin Tauhau completed it. He made a carving like a *mwaquega*, representing Kasabwaibwaileta and his wife in the act of coitus. His cousin regarded this as a proof that Tauhau had cohabited with his wife, and forthwith hit and broke Tauhau's testicles :—

'He got sick and so with their mothers and his young men brother Tauhau young with him they sat on the canoe.'

They go round the islands and punish the people of Dejdej who refused to give them coconuts by making them all ugly, while others who gave them *surujako* (pink coconuts) are rewarded with beauty. Finally, coming back to Gesiwe, they build a house there, and then make the two canoes, one for the elder, one for the younger Tauhau as related in the first story.

The number of incantations derived from Tauhau is simply legion. Let us take a few samples. The first is a *sigaha* :—

Sine Gagarojroj the *tauhau tauhau* . . . Gabuwana on its shore . . . Yourself your brother . . . Your vagina he saw . . . Asking always for you . . . He asks very far . . . His mind is sad for you . . . His mind is sad for you . . . Sister ! Let us do wrong . . . Sister ! let us do a thing that is forbidden. . . . Married women single girls . . . For them sea-water I drink . . . Far away (land) its woman . . . I slept I came away . . . For me she cries . . . For me she sobs . . . Sister ! let us do a wrong thing . . . Sister ! we do what is forbidden . . . Ever asking for you . . . He beseeches for a long way . . . Breast desire with black nipples . . . For them sea-water, I drink . . . Where is a man a good-looking man . . . What have you done to me . . . Your mother shouts down . . . Tears your water . . . Sister ! let us do wrong . . . We have done it . . . it is finished.

Tauhau was the author of the first *sigaha*. All *sigahas* are based on the Tauhau story, because libido is originally incestuous libido and all the women, married or single, are but substitutes for the beloved mother or sister. The incantation starts by describing the general situation and then develops into a dialogue between the hero and his sister. 'Sister let us do wrong !' This is Tauhau speaking. From

the sister the *sigaha* radiates to all other females, and the personality of Tauhau is submerged in that of the man who sings the *sigaha*. Salt water as a purgative is taken before all sorts of incantations in Duau. The magician now describes his success in love affairs and then becomes Tauhau again who is asking for his sister.

The breast is perhaps the most important erotogenic zone for the Duau people. A woman with a desirable breast with black nipples standing straight out—that is what makes a man happy. From the line, 'Where is a man a good-looking man?' it is Sine Gagarojroj speaking. She says, 'Too late, the deed is done, and your mother cries for what you have done'. Everybody who is performing love magic, that is, who desires to have success in love, is a *tauhau*, a man always asking for his sister. As a matter of fact, if a Duau man speaks of his 'sister', he means his lovers; if he speaks of his 'mothers', he means the women of his village including his wife. Should there be any doubt about the meaning, he might add 'my false sister' or 'my sister at night' to make matters clear.

But the *madawa* house is also a canoe, and here again we find that Tauhau is the originator of all canoe feasts.

'Canoe old times budobudo tree inside was with its outrigger and its white shell and its side timber . . . When he cut it it came down . . . it broke open . . . canoe that came out . . . and again he cut.'

Here we have Tauhau as representative of the *aurea aetas*, the dawn of days, when things could be had without working for them. But he represents also the period of transition to the present state of things. The ready-made canoe in the *budobudo* tree was soon rotten, so Tauhau thought of another way of doing things. He cut a canoe from the *mwadare* tree with an adze over which he had previously made a *nabwasua* (magic). He got some people to help him with the work and he arranged a *niaura* (feast given as payment for work) for them. Slowly the work went on, and when they had tied the canoe he gave an *egajo* (starting festival). He said :—

'This I divide . . . canoe starts village happiness . . . my custom that I hold and before bad one. . . . Not happiness any.'

Then he hoisted the *doe* (pandanus streamer, flag). They killed a pig, loaded the canoe with food, and hung up *bagi* and *mwari*. That is, he starts on the first *ebadi-doe*, the customary first tour made by every

new canoe before starting on the *kune*. Therefore, when they are cutting the tree trunk for the new canoe they sit under the tree and sing this *nabwasua* to give strength to their adze :—

'Tauhau his canoe . . . Tree *kebudobudo* . . . Imuna on its point . . . He has made it on it (on the point) . . . He started down (or out to sea) . . . He started with pain (i.e. desire for fame) . . . He started longing . . . Wanted your *bagi* big . . . Wanted your *mwari* big . . . You become quiet . . . You become suicide . . . You start longing for fame . . . Like canoe *mwadawa* canoe . . . You start longing for fame . . . You start desire . . . your desire my desire.'

The line : 'Wanted your *bagi* big' shows that it is a *kajowa* or *une* magic. 'You become quiet' refers to the *bagi* and *mwari* owners of the other island ; they are now so desirous to make an *une* with him that they sit still or even think of suicide, so great is their longing. Sail canoe for fame, 'your desire is my desire', i.e. the people are longing to see me. He follows with a list of the villages he visited on previous *does*, of the presents he got, and then enumerates the places he wants to go to, the *bagis* (or *mwaris*) he would like to get and the women he wants as lovers.

All the conclusions we might arrive at regarding the *une* shall be put forward elsewhere. What matters here is only this ; Tauhau represents not only the original way of getting a canoe, but also the present way with its work and ceremonies. Not only incest, but also the *mwadare* feast which has been substituted for incest. Tauhau's plaything, the *mwadare*, has been substituted for Tauhau's deed. The canoe in the old sense was easy to get, but it was a short-lived happiness. For as soon as the goal is attained the *mujamaja* (pain, desire, longing) is satiated, the *ujowana* (happiness) vanishes into air, and the canoe that dropped out of the tree is rotten.

This interpretation will be made clearer if we explain the second meaning of the *madawa*. It is a canoe, but also it means the mango tree that grew at the village To Madawa.

This is the story of the world-tree as told by the people of Sawatupwa.

Waiko (Mango)

A woman called Nemureresi (Spreading anyhow) was weeding. She found some fish under a mango tree and took them home. Her husband, who thought a man had given her the fish, was jealous and beat her. He followed her with the other men and he saw what she was doing. Now she picked the fish from under the mango tree.

Thinking there must be more fish in the tree they gathered all the men of the village and decided to cut the tree. They cut the tree that day, but it was not cut right through. In the evening they went back home to sleep. And what did they find next day ! The tree was untouched, the gap made by their axes closed. Next day they had to begin again and at night the tree grew together again. Little children were making a fire and they took a chip of the tree and burnt it. Next day when the tree grew together again the chip was missing and so they managed to fell it. It fell on To Baritoni and buried him under the earth, under the village of To Madawa. There the tree remains to this day, with To Baritoni clinging to it. Now that the trunk is felled, water comes pouring out and nothing can stop it. The people of the village ask their sister Nemureresi :

' What we do and it closes ? . . . So her skirt she opened . . . Said My vagina you see ! . . . Not any vagina ! . . . Incantation mine you make . . . and then pearl shell they took . . . they spoke into it . . . they closed it . . . and sea became dry . . . If not they had closed it earth would have been flooded.'

' Make my incantation ' means make an incantation with myself, i.e. the closed vagina, as a *karena* of the incantation. In another version she closes her vagina with the pearl shell after having made magic into it. The vagina is symbolized in the legend by the tree trunk from which water pours out. Water gushing forth from a trunk is a well-known dream image for birth and with a slight modification (blood from a trunk) means the same thing in ancient Mexican hieroglyphics. When the child is born it emerges from the amniotic fluid, and a return to the flood would be death. In the myth this deep-rooted desire and anxiety of the individual is represented as a world cataclysm averted by closing the vagina. Perhaps the last and original meaning of the word *to-madawa* will help us. According to the legend the *to-madawa* (dugong) was a woman who rolled into the sea. If, therefore, the tree at To-madawa is the body of a woman and if ' Woman Spreading out ' can close the entrance by closing her vagina, we should infer that the tree in the myth represents the woman. If a mythological husband is jealous he is always right, and the fish coming out of the tree are the fish that come out of a woman's body, i.e. children. Is the axe strong enough to fell the tree ? Will the penis be able to cope with the ever opening and closing vagina ? Again and again the axe opens an entrance which is closed the next day. Desire and anxiety again

move in the same direction. The phallus opens the trunk, but an open wound means castration and next day they find it closed. Not till the little children have burnt a chip can they attain their aim. The woman has given birth and the little children that have passed through her vagina increase the danger of the open wound. The trunk is now the vagina of a mother and this threatens to be the end of the world. Nobody can close the trunk, i.e. no penis is strong enough to close the maternal vagina. Water and fish come pouring out and the end is represented by the beginning. From the archaic point of view, the myth seems to say, the birth shock is the source of all anxiety. When the child is separated from the mother, that is the end of the world. But those who have felled the tree are men, and from their point of view the anxiety represented as world cataclysm would be the fear of the father from the sons. But their fear is allayed, the world is saved by the mother without a vagina, by the taboo on incest.

The magic derived from the closed vagina belongs to the same type of incantations as those sung at Gagajowana in connection with the *madawa*. It is a *bwajawe* for keeping the yams in the village and was sung as a preparation for the Wedona *sagari*:

'Woman Spreading out . . . No vagina at all . . . Deep down it is hollow . . . Deep down it is closed . . . My village its food . . . I have made closed it . . . Talk proud its village . . . Coconut shoots village its . . . I have made hollow it . . . I have made closed it . . . Banana bunch its village . . . I have made hollow it . . . Winter store village its . . . Hoisting flag village its . . . Food lying about . . . I have made it hollow . . . I have made it closed.'

'I made it hollow, I made it closed' is, as Malinowski would say, the *key phrase* of the whole incantation. Mythologically they apply it to the world-tree, in the unconscious to Waine Nemureresi. The original male desire is to *open* the woman's body, the secondary transcription, not unmingled with the anxiety of the deep hollow, is *to keep it closed*. The *bwajawe* means this will be a great feast, the food is lying about, the flag hoisted as a sign of triumph. This is a village of plenty, we have coconuts, banana stores for the winter and therefore the right to talk with pride—provided the *bwajawe* attains its aim. Therefore I close the vagina of the village lest its children, the yams, should come out and leave their mother for ever.

Having thus by a long circuit through the various meanings of the word *to madawa*, through myths and incantations, arrived at the same

conclusions that were already established on the basis of the *baita* sung at Gagajowana, we shall attempt to explain the myth of Tauhau as the real background of the whole situation.

The outstanding feature of the myth is the uncertainty about Sine Gagarojroj. She is the sister with whom the younger Tauhau commits incest, and yet sometimes according to the text she seems to be the wife who is honoured by the *mwadare*. In the ritual we find the husband in an ambiguous position helping both his wife and his sister. But if we accept the version which makes the two Tauhaus not only namesakes but brothers, we get a consistent solution. The two Tauhaus have one sister who was first the wife of the elder and then eloped with the younger. Before the elopement we have the episode of Kasabwai-bwaileta's jealousy. But Tauhau and Kasabwaibwaileta are originally both *une* heroes and therefore perhaps merely two names for the same person. Then the text of the original story would be *Tauhau the younger desired Sine Gagarojroj, the sister-wife of the elder Tauhau. He castrated the elder Tauhau and took the woman.*

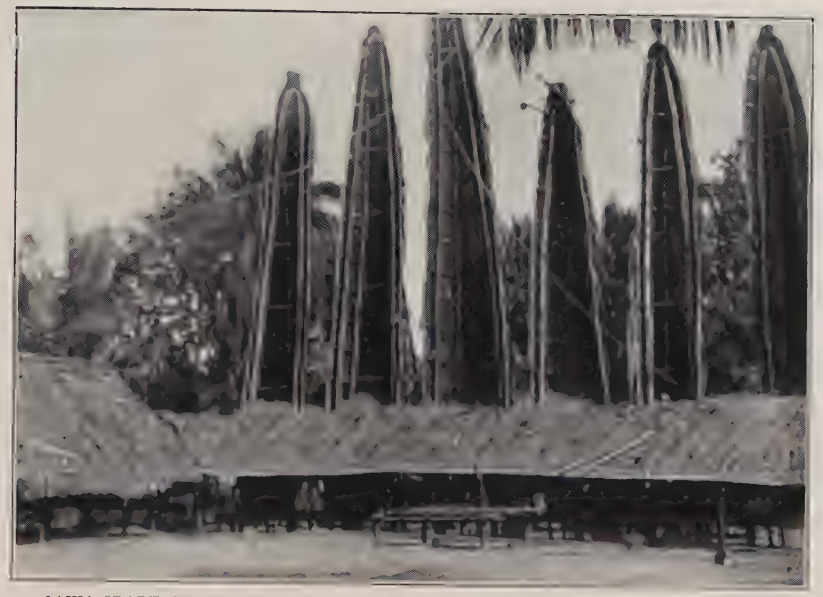
The old Œdipus drama is here going through a specific process of transformation in which I think we shall find the explanation for some of the psychological characteristics of the Dobuan culture area. The sister has replaced the mother, the elder brother has taken the place of the father, just as it happens in real life. Ritual is here older than myth and conserves in the *mwadare* house a symbol of the maternal womb. In the myth the *mwadare* ritual is preceded by a curious episode. Tauhau has intercourse with his sister, their semen falls out, immediately becomes a child, and he sends the semen-child back into the mother's vagina. It is a well-tried rule of interpretation to assume that two episodes following each other mean the same thing. After this they make a *mwadare*, they put the penis-child (the yam) back into the mother. The *mwadare*, therefore, simply means that the wife's social standing is assured, she is recognized as one of the mothers of the husband's clan. We must not forget that the *mwadare* is also a reward for the same thing; they celebrate the wife as mother, when she has given birth to several children. By organizing the *mwadare* the sister is showing her good will. She is ceding the position she occupied in her brother's affection to the newcomer, to the woman he called his *nuhuna* when he was a young man, and who is now out to ascend to the rank of mother. She reciprocates with another *mwadare* and thus the feasts tend to bring about an unconscious identification between wife and sister. By unconscious identification I mean an identification in

the unconscious of the husband, and it is primarily in To Jarere, therefore, that the strain between the two clans, i.e. between the endo and exogamic trend of libido, is lessened.

The correctness of this interpretation is borne out by what happens at the *bwara awana* in a neighbouring ethnographical area. Normanby Island is not regarded as a unity by the natives, but as three distinct areas. The western end is Soramanaki, the centre Bwebweso, the eastern end where I worked is Duau. In Bwebweso and Soramanaki they have the *bwara awana* instead of the *mwadare*. In the year 1930 a big *bwara awana* was celebrated at Jawa-irape on a tiny island at Sewa bay. The whole village of Jawa-irape had become a series of festive houses. Each of these houses is a *mwadare* house filled by a sister (and her *bukunao*) in honour of a wife, or by a wife in honour of a sister. Thus the thirty-two festive houses stand in pairs opposing each other.

Kamole and Kakulosi are brothers-in-law, for Kakulosi's sister is Kamole's wife Bogijaj. Therefore Kamole's sisters, brothers, uncles, have filled a house with yams in honour of Bogijaj, and Bogijaj's (Kakulosi's) clansfolk have done the same for Kamole's sister. The yams coming from the gardens of Kakulosi and his brothers, sisters and uncles are handed over to Bogijaj. She passes them on to her husband and he divides them among his clansfolk. The husband's and his sisters', brothers' and uncles' yams go through him also to Bogijaj, and she passes them to her brother Kakulosi and he divides them among his clansfolk.

But, in accordance with the retribution idea which is evidently the striking feature in Dobuan character, although they have exchanged their food, some has been kept back on both sides. With these yams Kamole's people make a *galabeda* (return festival) for Kakulosi's people and Kakulosi's people for Kamole's people. They call this festival *popoka*, that is, to lay eggs. When they pile up the eggs in the *bwara awana* the proceeding is called *sipoupou*, i.e. they fill with eggs. If the yams are the eggs, the house itself must be a hen bird that lays these eggs. As a matter of fact, the curious shape of the house with a sort of little tail at the end is highly suggestive of a bird's body. *Bwara awana* means ' body its opening ', an expression that may mean either the mouth or euphemistically the vagina. Having put the eggs (semen) into the female, she will lay eggs, i.e. give birth to children. When the food distribution is finished they have a *rausa* (dance). At this *rausa* the young girls of Kamole's clan, that is, his sisters, will go



JAWA-IRAPE IS TRANSFORMED INTO A SERIES OF *BWARA-AWANA* HOUSES (see p. 148).

BACK VIEW OF THE *BWARA-AWANA*. SHOWS THE BIRD-LIKE SHAPE OF THE HOUSE (see p. 148.)

[*To face p. 148*

to his wife's house, and the girls of Bogijaj's clan (Kakulosi's clan), his sisters-in-law, will come to his house. There they will wait for the boys who want coitus after the dance. Each girl has intercourse with several boys in succession, till she is exhausted by fatigue. Here we have our interpretation of the *mwadare* as an actual fact. That night Kamole's sisters will be having intercourse in his wife's house, and his sisters-in-law (' wives ' in other classificatory systems) have replaced his sisters. The festival dramatizes an endopsychical process; the wife has now become an adequate substitute for sister and mother.

But as the representatives of the sociological school will probably remind us, marriage is not only the coitus of a male and a female, it has also a sociological aspect. Perhaps we want to discover what this sociological aspect really means. Why should there be—in any society—a marked difference between marriage and a liaison? E.g. while the former is sanctioned by the social code, the latter is regarded as *ipewara* (theft) by the people of Duau.

An old woman wakes up in the morning and feels sore all over. Her body has no life in it, it is like a stone, or, as they say, *nadiwara*. What is the matter? Oh yes! Her son left after sunset and went to the next village to spend the night with his lover. The sun is just rising, he has not returned yet, and that is what has made her *nadiwara*.

What has happened on the other side? The girl's mother has noticed that the boy has been coming very frequently of late. It is high time her daughter had a husband. She has a simple but effective way of match-making. She sits down before the door, and as the boy cannot step over her because this is taboo, he is caught in a trap and the lover has become a husband. The girl's relations will now take the first present to the boy's side (*poara*) as a compensation for having made them *nadiwara*. They will answer with another present, for has not the boy often left his lover before sunrise and thereby made her relations *nadiwara?* The state of being *nadiwara* is simply aggressiveness expressed in an hysterical way by feeling the pain they would cause others in their own body. Mothers and sisters are jealous of the strange woman whom their son and brother loves; the father, the uncles and brothers are angry, why should he enjoy himself? The same on the other side: the new relations are jealous of the old; the ties that are about to be formed are not so easily brought into harmony with those formed in infancy. Each side must get presents, bribes to balance their unconscious hostility. That is why the *mwadare* is like a fight, for each side gives with repressed rage. But although we have

in this aspect of the feast an expression of anal-sadistic character we must not forget that it is also officially a feast of goodwill between two clans. We know what happens at the *bwara awana* and can therefore interpret the symbolic meaning of the *mwadare*. A group of men, To Jarere's brothers, are putting their penes (the yams) into Daiko's womb. At Sewa this is actually carried out ; many men have intercourse with one woman in the yam-house. At Duau it is merely symbolic. To Jarere's brothers put their yams into the house that symbolizes his wife.

This is the reason why a clandestine love affair is wrong and marriage is right. Others want to have their share in the fun ; identification is the basis of socialization.

VIII

DOKETA

I shall now relate all I know about Doketa, the Christian chief of the Loboda. The reason for choosing Doketa was that he was the only prominent person in connection with the *mwadare* (food distribution) ceremony with whom I was in touch for some time. In doing so, I am trying to demonstrate what I think will be the method of psycho-analytical anthropology in the field for some time to come.

Psycho-analysis may be regarded either as a clinical or as an applied science. The methods of interpretation first evolved by Freud in analysing dreams can equally be applied to other manifestations of the human psyche, such as myths or customs. If we have sufficiently detailed information about a custom such as the *mwadare* and have not neglected to inquire into all its ramifications, we stand a very good chance of being able to understand that custom in the psycho-analytical sense of the word.

But in order to understand a society thoroughly, we must study it in its individuals. No existing school of psychology, excepting psycho-analysis alone, can tell us anything about the individual that is at all worth knowing. They cannot tell us why a man behaves in a certain way with regard to women; they can give us no explanation of the peculiarities of his character, and cannot, in short, explain his life. Psycho-analysis can do all this and even more as a clinical discipline, and can at least make an attempt in the same direction as a method of doing anthropological field-work.

Dream 1

'Fire burning I saw village every one it was burning. People all those they were burning and I, I was afraid. I prayed God my father You help me I am man bad. Then fire went back and I ran and then into the water I dived and my cousins said, our water. Then again I stood up and Mission House to it I ran I woke.'

After having called on me two or three times, Doketa of Loboda, descendant of famous sorcerers and witches, and at present the only Christian chief of the island, relates this dream.

It is an old dream of his which he remembers to-day. As I did not tell him what to talk about, we are justified in supposing that there is some unconscious link between the dream and the other things he talks about that day. We shall therefore regard not only the

answers to direct questions connected with the dream, but also the other things he spoke about that day, in the light of dream associations.

The dream itself is one of the typical dreams known as water and fire dreams. When he woke after this dream he had to go and urinate—this being a very frequent source of the water and fire symbolism. The fire threatens to destroy the whole world, and the dream indicates two ways out of the difficulty. One is the Christian way. To call upon God the Father for mercy, to confess his sins, and run to the Mission House. The other way is to dive into the water. At the water he meets Seigwau and Sinedigajogajo, two girls, with their mother Jailou. Jailou is the wife of his *wahana* (uncle), and therefore his *jajana* (aunt), the girls are his *nibana* (cross-cousins). When he was a little boy he used to stay with them sometimes and play with the two little girls. ' Don't you run about too much ', his aunt used to say, ' or the *barau* (sorcerers) will kill you, the *werabana* (witches) will eat you ! ' Then he says : ' Some people marry their cousins, but it is a great shame to do so.' There are also two men at the water : Obeda, his wife's uncle, with whom he had a quarrel about a pig, and Kekejao, his cousin.

Before this dream he told me about the *kune* (ceremonial exchange) of which he is one of the best known leaders. He has therefore disobeyed his aunt's words, probably both in their literal and their latent sense. One way to get out of the trouble is to dive into the water of the cousins, but there might be quarrels with the male members of the family, and it is a great shame to do so. Before relating the dream, he told the myth of Dobodobo, the boy who refused to help his father and mother in their work, and would do nothing but comb and decorate himself all day long. So they got angry with him, and refused to give him any food. He decorated his body properly for a dance, took his drum, and went up a hill. From the hill he jumped, dived into the water, thus committing suicide. For the little Doketa was evidently afraid of something, and this danger threatened him from his parents. If he would follow his inclinations (walk about, not work but play, dive into the water), there might be great danger, even death, in store for him, the parents might refuse food, i.e. their love. His desire to find a substitute (the cousin's water) is either unsuccessful or he has never attempted to carry it out.

Some time after this, he goes on telling me about the *une* (*kune*), and reluctantly confiding the secret of his success therein. For the *une* magic, everybody has a special flower which he chews before

calling on his *une* friend. In his case there are two, one of them called woman-female, the other eyes-male. He rubs them together, and then drinks the mixture with water. Like all other *bwajawes* (roots, medicines), when taken with sea-water this acts as a purgative. When the effect has been attained, *nuagu isabuarena*, ' my mind becomes clear ', and I shall be successful in the *une*.

After this he relates the myth of Tauhau who had intercourse with his sister, and was the originator of the *une*.

The next time he comes, he again begins to talk about the *une*, and about a big *bagi* that he held before, and passed on to a Dobu man. Then he relates Peora's adventure with a witch. This Peora was fishing, and inadvertently happened to kill a witch's child. When the mother came back from the underworld she found her child dead. Off she rushed to the village with her *pawas* (club of stone) wailing as follows :—

' Who, who my child killed ? His testicles my sponge, his penis my flute.'

From Meabana and Nadinadia all the witches kept swarming forth to her assistance. Peora was frightened, but he managed to make peace with the witches by offering them a pig, making a feast and giving them *bagis*.

What do we know about Doketa after the first dream ?

We know that there is a danger latent in him, which he is trying to get away from. The water of his girl cousins into which he does not dive, the shameful thing of marrying one's own cousin, and the myth of Tauhau who married his sister, all point in one direction. He is getting ready for the *mwadare*, that is, preparing to imitate Tauhau. But behind it all lurks the image of the mother as castrator, the witch with the stone club, who will have Peora's testicles and penis. We also understand that the two outstanding features of his life both represent attempts to find a counter-cathexis against the dominant trend of his id. Like his ancestors, he is an *esa esa*, a man who gives feasts and gives them with a liberal hand. But in doing so, he is only bribing fate, or to put it more clearly, giving yams to the witch who would take his penis. He is also a hero of the *une*, it takes him far away from the ' mothers ' (name for the witches), and gives him a series of substitutes in the wives of his *une* partners. In going away for an *une* he is breaking through the taboo of his ' mothers ' and ' aunts ' in more than one sense. He is not only leaving the shores of Loboda, but also finding an adequate sublimation of a mixed anal and genital type. Before

going to the village of his *gumagi* (*une* friend), he performs magic ; rubs the male and the female together. Then he dilutes the result in water, and uses it as an aperient.

The second wall of defence against incest is the Christian religion. One reason why it offers a more adequate stronghold than the religion of his ancestors is quite patent. It is the prominence given to Jaubada, the Father God. Why not Jaboajne then ? We shall be able to answer this question only after having explained the nature of this sky being.[1]

DREAM 2

'I dreamt with my brother-in-law we got ready for fishing, and we go, we fish, and fish we killed, betelnut we gathered.'

This is his wife's younger brother Kopej. The place where they fish is his usual fishing place at Loboda, and the tree his own *magi* tree. At that tree he had a quarrel with a young man called Tajorere. Tajorere is his *wahana* (nephew), and he calmly appropriated the nuts that belonged to his uncle. This Tajorere is a great *to ganawara*, that is, a thief both of property and of women. He stole Kopej's nuts too, and he tried to rape Joli's wife.

Stealing nuts means stealing women. Doketa's tree is his wife Tutuijara. Her affections are not entirely his, he has to share them with her brother Kopej. Thus the two brother-in-laws eating betelnuts from the same tree are a dream representation of the *mwadare* situation ; the woman in the middle, husband and brother on both sides. He only takes nuts from his own tree, but Tajorere took them from another man's tree. We suspect that fishing means the same thing as gathering nuts, but put off interpretation till we know more about it.

DREAM 3

'I dreamt wind big storm, waves village they poured covered over, and people floated about in the sea, they went down, they swam, I myself my house in I stayed, my lamp was burning, missionary came, said, Lebon, don't you be afraid now I look after you. He said : Not (even) for a short time have I left you.'

He has seen three great storms in his life. The first and biggest was when he was a child, and his father's house was blown to pieces. The father shouted, 'Take the yams, we must run !' Loboda was

[1] Jaboajne is the High God of this area. The remark above refers to another paper.

covered with water like in the dream. At the time of the second storm he was with his uncle and mother. The last storm was after he married. This time he stayed in his house. The words spoken by the missionary in the dream were really his words. Dauerisi threatened to summon him to the Government because of a pig, and Mr. Walker told him as in the dream that he need not be afraid. When Doketa made an *une* to Dobu he asked Dauerisi (his *tubuna*) for a pig. Dauerisi had the right to ask for another pig in return, but instead of doing so, he wanted to go straight to the Government. He has now paid Dauerisi. This Dauerisi was always quarrelling with his own brother just because of this pig. The brother told him (in English), ' Son of a bitch ! '

Then he talks about his relation to the mission and about baptism. The first dream in which he prays to Jaubada and runs to the mission house, was really the dream that led to baptism, but he talks about it now in connection with another flood dream. The light in his house is the light of *tapwaroro* (Christianity), for he gets the kerosene for his lamp from this mission store. He accepted *tapwaroro* because ' if you are baptized they won't be afraid of you any more '. Because his father and uncle were both famous *baraus* the people of Loboda and Guj all believed that he had learnt it from them, and consequently they feared him. As a Christian he was supposed to give up practising the *barau*. It would be a mistake, however, to believe that Doketa was doing this in order to allay the fears of the people. For if they are afraid of a *barau* this means that they will all unite their magical strength to kill him, and sooner or later will succeed in doing so. As a Christian he had nothing to fear, he was under the protection of Jaubada—and the Government. We must not neglect the factor of reality. One day he is in a joking mood, and says, ' What shall I tell you ? Our stories I have finished them, our *lojawe* (coitus) I have finished, shall I speak of Jaubada ? I have not seen him '. But he has seen the Government, when his father and uncle went to jail because of their *barau*. Then his faith in the magical omnipotence of the father must have been shaken, and he had to find new fathers—in the missionary, the Government, and Jaubada. The storm of his infancy means the same thing, even the father had to flee from his house. He can brave this storm backed by the new power.

But the danger and the power that protects him against the danger are somehow one and the same thing. Talking about storms

he says that they mean '*botana*', a famine. In the old days people used to say that a storm was caused by Jaboajne, now they say Jaubada. The first time he heard about Jaboajne was like this.

One of his *bukunao* had carried on a *lojawe* with a Guj woman whose husband had gone away for an *une*. He was afraid of what the husband would do when he came back, and so their *wahana* Nawabuwera said :

'Jaboajne all of us he made and our fingers he carved he cut, we all became strong, if you hit us we hit you.'

This speech was addressed to the Guj people, and means : we all have hands to fight with, if you want a fight, come on !

Before the dream Doketa told me a myth. It was the story of the self-moving drum in the land of spirits (Bwebweso), how it used to make music all day, and the spirits have nothing to do but to be happy, and dance all day :

'Not they rested pleasure only their work.'

This unlimited rule of the Pleasure Principle came to an end when the people of Kelologea got tired of the eternal music, and stole the drum. The man who steals the drum dives into the sea—and this is how it happened that we dance to-day, and enjoy ourselves with the women. But the drum on earth has to be made first, and you must hit it if you want it to 'cry'.

Doketa's dreams and stories all seem to end with the hero's plunge into the ocean of unlimited wish-fulfilment. This would be all very well if it were not for the consequences, the parents who refuse to give their child any food, Jaboajne or Jaubada as originator of famine, the sorcerer who kills, and the witch who eats little children. A flood of Eros is dangerous because waters are incestuous waters, and God the Father will punish the rebel. This is the attitude of the dream ; others float in the waters, he sits at home beside his Christian lamp. But there is a deeper trend of rebellion hidden in the associations, a tendency to rely on his own strength and not that of the white man and his god. Are we not all made by Jaboajne, all men ? If you hit I can hit back. He had another dispute recently with some relations who had been stealing his betelnuts. Doketa had better be quiet or we will *barau* him—they said, evidently believing that as a Christian they had nothing to fear from him. 'Oh ! all right', he said with a smile, 'let them try it. I will not begin, but woe to them if they do so ! I will show them who is a real *barau* in Loboda ! '

DREAM 4

'A boat ran towards me from the bush with its lamp and its engine, it ran to me tree big raku tree at its trunk, it anchored so I, I shouted my shadow ooo ! that you all witches we saw you and you always come again. You go and you take it down underworld and people you kill them all !'

The miracles of the white man, such as a boat that moves of itself without oars, are but the miracles of old. He was a very little boy when Senubeta, his mother's *wahana*, one of the few men who had ever learnt witchcraft, told him all about the witches and the underworld. He told him how they went down to Tau Mudurere (Man Pubic Part), the chief of the underworld. There they deposit the souls they have brought on his *boru* (stone heap). Then the witches comb their hair, oil and paint themselves, and get ready for the dance with the *numu* (underworld) people. The victim is *Tau Mudurere kana tau* (his man to eat), but the Prince of the Underworld, like his *dimdim* equivalent, eats the soul and not the body.

'Witches not they kill anyhow, there their brothers they pass them on and they take them down and their canoe they take Tau Mudurere. So they say, that canoe you give me and I take it, my brother I fetch him and your (food) man and your canoe its pay.'

When I ask him whether he has ever seen a boat like the one in the dream he says it is like the 'Vakuta'. We sailed together on the 'Vakuta' to another island, and visited Mr. Smith. Mr. Smith is like Tau Mudurere because he has a store where you can get everything. Just as the witches 'pass' their relations to Tau Mudurere, I might pass my head boy, Gomadobu, to Mr. Smith. It is always the rich people whom the witches pass down to Tau Mudurere for all the good things they can get there, for new kinds of yams or canoes. Thus, for instance, his wife, if she got angry with her uncle, Lobeseni, the rich man of his village, might pass him on to Tau Mudurere. Or his sister Daiko, or his mother, if they were angry with him, they might pass him down to Tau Mudurere. At present all the witches of Fergusson island are getting ready to pass Waigila down to Tau Mudurere. No matter how well he knows the *gau* (protective magic), with all the witches united against him, he has not the slightest chance. Waigila is the leader of this year's great Dobu *une* to the Trobriands. Kaujaporu, who led the same expedition before him, was dead within two weeks. The people do it for fame, but the greater the fame, the

greater the danger. Tau Mudurere is the husband of all the witches, and they will kill us to feed him. He is like a white man, but dressed like a Papuan. Once there was a big sickness, and Tau Mudurere's light (the lamp of the dream boat) was visible to all. Only he and his family were not sick, all Duau suffered.

Mr. Smith is very unpopular among the natives. They are afraid of him, or he takes their wives and beats them. It is evident that Doketa did not follow me without some anxiety on board the ' Vakuta '. But this anxiety never leaves him, whether it is a white man's boat or a canoe. He too is great in the *une*, and it is his ambition to become still greater. But alas, ' our mothers ' (the witches) kill all those who are heroes of the *une !* Or if we translate this into the language of his previous dreams : all those who dive into the water (of incest) are killed by the mother. In giving examples as to who might pass somebody to Tau Mudurere, he chooses his wife, mother and sister. The woman who passes, and the man who is passed, must always belong to the same matrilineal group, and as all the women of the clan are collectively called ' our mothers ' by the men of the clan, it is easy to see that the fundamental idea is that *the mother delivers her son to a powerful male being to be eaten.* Nor does it require great astuteness to guess who this male being is. He is Phallic Man, the mother's husband.

We are now indeed in the *numu* world at the very depths of Duau mythology. The two great anxieties in the life of a Duau man are connected with the positive and the inverted aspect of the Œdipus complex. The witches may kill him, he may be punished by death for his desire to have intercourse with the mother. Or they may ' pass him on ', ' give permission ' to the father who will eat him, that is, the mother may let the son take her place beside the father, and he will then be ' eaten ' (coitus) by the father. This formula, however, has a second meaning ; if a man is not beloved by the mothers, the witches, he has no chance against the father. He is now getting ready to celebrate the *mwadare* for his sister Daiko. Evidently he has sufficient reason to do so. For should she be angry with him—and not coming up to the mark in a case like this would be the very thing for which she would certainly get angry—all his Christian faith and the Government would be of no avail against Tau Mudurere. Regarding, as we do, these food-giving obligations in connection with the sister as a sublimated form of incest, we cannot fail to see how the repressed anxiety weakens the value of these sublimations.

Dream 5

'As if Doctor Williams they came, man one they drug through nose, they said we make you smell and you will die and your pain we cut and we take out. They cut him, they chopped him up and they piled the pieces up. It remained there. I also, he told me he said: You too we make you sleep and we cut you. I, I said: Not pain any but he the doctor that insisted his thing for smelling that to my nose he put but mine fear not I drew it in. I shook about so I woke.'

The theme of Dream 4 is continued with a white doctor replacing Tau Mudurere. We have also the first appearance of the analyst in his dreams. This was after he had repeatedly protested that he had nothing more to say. Doketa is his own name, also my name, although in the dream it is the Salamo Doctor (i.e. Dr. Williams). I too am '*gewana*', and insist on making him talk. It was Lajsias who told him about operations of this kind. The doctor opened the inside of a white 'sister' to cure her sore. Then he begins to talk about the *sagari* at Dawada where he is going to-morrow. It is To Gweruru's *sagari* and To Gweruru's son is *ai poara* to Ilebouma, his daughter. The dream locality is Baita-huhuna, Lobeseni's village. Lobeseni is his wife's uncle, and his *bwasiana* (father-in-law). He stands therefore in the same relationship to him as To Gweruru to his daughter Ilebouma. He piled up five pigs for Lobeseni on the platform as the limbs of the man are piled up in the dream. Mr. Walker divided a bull for their Christmas feast at Bwaruada in a similar way. The first *sagari* he remembers was held at Quatobwa. It was the *sagari* of his mother's *wahana*. The only thing he remembers about this *sagari* is that a man beat his wife. He was jealous because the boys paid too much attention to her at the dance. He beat her till she was 'dead'. They were all wailing loudly for her. But they rubbed her with hot water and she got up again. The doctor in the dream is also like their own *baraus*, for the *barau* kills a person by his magic, and then makes him get up again. Finally, when he dies a second time, the *barau* cuts his hair and penis off, and uses it as a *bona*. The memory of the first *sagari* is evidently a screen-memory, and refers to something that happens to a woman in married life. She is 'killed' by her husband, but revives afterwards. In the dream he is struggling against his inclination to accept this female rôle. The doctor wants to open his belly as he did with the white 'sister'. To-morrow it will be the *sagari* for his daughter's father-in-law, and the dream is staged at

Baita-huhuna, the place where his father-in-law held the *sagari*. In both cases he suffers a loss. He has to give pigs at the *sagari*, and when he comes to see me he also has to give something, dreams, magic, myths. But at the bottom of all these dangers is the greatest of all dangers, the *barau* who kills people and cuts their penes off. Remembering that his father was the great *barau* of his infancy, we can formulate the latent contents of his dream as an infantile wish to replace the mother in the affections of the father (in the present tense—the powers that be—his father-in-law, the missionary, myself). But this means a loss of his penis (pigs, dreams, magic), hence the anxiety and the struggle against the ' operation '.

Dream 6

' I with her we went and pig one wild came out, jumped at me, wanted to bite me. Wood one I took its nose, I hit and it died and I into a gully I jumped and Tutujara I left. I went and village one in bush betelnuts, bananas I saw, food in the house they piled up they ate. They said, ' You come up and we eat '.'

The pig in the dream is like Mr. Smith's pig. Mr. Smith has many native women. Just now he wanted a new wife, but his chief wife ran away from him, she wouldn't have the young girl. In the meantime he had sent the new woman away, so he now had none at all. He told his head boy, ' Don't let the village women come anywhere near me. If anyone comes here, I shall just simply grab her and keep her ! '

A cousin of his was like that, a man called Gomasebulu. He had two wives, one from Duau, one from Wejoko. One of them was always running away. This cousin was about his father's age—an old man when he was a *kirakaj* (young lad). The jump into the gully reminds him of what happened at Budowa when he was a young boy. It was a man called Wajaduna who got jealous because of his wife, and taking his spear made a rush at the whole village. He was with his *madiana* (stepfather), his mother and his sister. The whole village fled in a panic, and the stepfather mother, sister, and he jumped down into a gully. The woman who calls him to come and eat is his wife's sister. Her words are a repetition of what she really said at Budowa. Here I cannot get any further associations. It is *omaiamaia* (shame) to talk about married relations, and although in talking with me, he has often disregarded his *omaiamaia*, this time he is obstinate.

After describing To Gweruru's *sagari* and the rules of food division he talks about the taboos of the garden : ' Don't words bad ones in

garden, pig comes in ' ; that is, don't talk about coitus in the garden or the pig will eat the yams. It is also forbidden to have intercourse in the garden for the same reason. When the yams are growing it is taboo to make a noise in the garden, the children should not play about there, and people should talk in whispers.

If being attacked by a pig is the punishment for *lojawe* we may conjecture that such is the crime for which Doketa is attacked in the dream by the wild pig. Moreover, he leaves his wife, and eats with her sister, of whom it is a great shame to speak. The pig belongs to (that is, represents) a white man who is famous among the natives as a great Don Juan. But the associations lead up to another polygamist. Doketa's *nibana* is a *man of his father's age*. It is the child's complaint of injustice ; the father punishes him for a thing that he himself is only too ready to do. For Mr. Smith's pig is Mr. Smith, and the latter, as we have seen in Dream 4, is the father. This time Doketa kills the father, and runs away from the consequences. The jump which is such a characteristic feature of his stories and dreams recurs here. The nature of the gully is well defined by those who jumped into it. The gully into which he jumps with the father, mother, and sister, is the gully of incestuous relations. The dream itself represents the latent content as distorted by anxiety. The pig (father) tries to bite Doketa for his incestuous desires (gully), but he kills the pig.

Dream 7

' Gomadobu [2] with me we went to hook fish and quadowara fish two big ones we pulled out. And Bwaruada we came and we cut it up, it was boiling, bells they rang. Mr. Walker said : you leave your fish, it stays there and church first. And you come back and you eat. Then we came back and Gomadobu fish he divided. I my share the trunk I said : The friends you give them. Gomadobu said : You your trunk I give you and later the friends.'

When we came back from our trip on the ' Vakuta', he and Gomadobu were sitting in the house of the latter and boiling a fish. I had had my breakfast, and waited to begin to work with them. So I shouted, Gomadobu ! and they had to leave the fish.

' Well, then ', I tell him, ' now talk about me. But don't tell me that I am a very good man and all that sort of thing. The dream shews that I must have done something you don't like—now try and

[2] My head boy.

think what might it have been ? ' Perhaps somebody will say that this is a leading question. But anybody who tries to do this kind of work with primitive people will observe that they don't like to answer the question : well, tell me something about so and so (a person occurring in the dream). The answer is a formula ; he is a very good man, gives me everything and so on. All the more so if the person in question is myself !

So I am trying a little ' activity '. The answer shows how necessary it was. He does not talk about any wrong I may have done, but about the wrongs that he did to me, and then about what he did to others. But if we consider that we are always angry with those whom we have wronged, and that the name Doketa covers us both, the answer amounts to nearly the same thing. He has kept some *obas* back from me—because he is a Christian. Now this again is a half-truth. I know very well that an *oba* (curative magic) is always the counterpart of a *barau* (black magic), and that a *to-oba* is therefore also a *to-barau*. Nor would his Christian religion be any obstacle to telling an *oba*, as it is only the *barau* that is incompatible with the *tapwaroro*. From the evil ascribed to himself it is easy to see the evil he ascribes to me ; there is still rice and tinned meat in my stores, this is what I have kept back from him. Nothing can hurt a *Duau* man more than to call him ' *ose* ' (stingy), and nothing is nearer the truth. He hates to give, and expects unlimited liberality from all others.

Thus he accuses himself of undue delay in the matter of Lobeseni's *sagari*. He is putting it off now because he must celebrate another feast in honour of his sister. However, we know very well that the accusation is well founded. The last dream showed that to give the necessary pigs to Lobeseni was something like being cut to pieces (castrated) himself ; no wonder he can't make up his mind. He then goes on to accuse Gomadobu of the same sin of ' keeping back '.

Some time ago he gave me a *bona*, an oil for fishing and love magic. Gomadobu was trying to induce him not to give it to me, as he wanted it himself. Now he has brought another lot for Gomadobu. Gomadobu also told him to keep back the famous *mwari* Senubeta (thin leg) now in his keeping, and to exchange it with him for another *mwari*, instead of letting it go to his regular *gumagi*. A most irregular proceeding, against the laws of the *une*.

That is all there is to say. Then he mentions the custom of *eliamu*. This is the word for the special friend every Duau man has. This friendship dates from a night in which the two prospective friends

slept beside the same woman without—officially—having intercourse with her. He blushes and says he never had an *eliamu*. But the next piece of information he offers is just as good. He sings a death-song called

KEIBWASAJ

'Toninitu road bereaved sister. Rakupwesi road you run down. What you throw for. I make villages all.'

It is the custom of the people of Duau that, after the death of an *esa esa*, his sisters will run naked from one village to the other. It often happens that the men of a strange village chase them, as they think the naked women are witches. The proper thing is for the men to stand in the middle of the village, and the women to hop round them naked. Only the sisters should do this; if there are no sisters, the other women dance round, but they do not take their skirts off. If the *esa esa* were a young man, and a woman should do it after his death, people would say it was her *rawerawe* (lover). The women walking naked from village to village get presents for doing so, it is like the *ebadi-doe* of a new canoe.

We may now attempt an interpretation of what he is doing when he is fishing with Gomadobu. Two men are doing something together, and what they are doing is connected with the death of an *esa esa* and with an incestuous love object (sister-naked-lover).

The next day he tells me that he had really more to say in connection with the dream, but as his *wahana* Kauanamo came, he did not say any more.

His father and Kauanamo used to go together on their *barau* expeditions. They would take the blood vessels of a person they had killed, and give them to his brother to dry them. When these vessels were dried they would use them as their *bona*. It is his intention to call a meeting to stop the evil deeds of the *barau*—an intention in which he is certainly prompted by the Mission. Kauanamo is a very big *barau*, and yesterday he wanted to relate the things he is going to tell to-day in order to make Kauanamo confess his evil deeds. Kauanamo killed Goma-gareana, another big *barau*, because he made too much rain. His father and Kauanamo together killed a Guj man because they got a *kesusura* (payment) to do it. This is just the same as when I give him tobacco, and he catches some fish for me. His father alone killed Ta Pijesia, another *barau*. Ta Pijesia had killed his father's aunt, and sent a challenge to the father. Then his father killed a *werabana* who was making the people sick. If he hadn't been a Christian, he would have

learnt all this from his father and Kauanamo. He became a Christian because of that dream (Dream No. 1).

Now we see the whole scene reacted again, but with a Christian background. When I say : ' Oh, yes, you became a Christian because you were afraid of the *barau* ' (as he had told me before), he denies it, and says he was afraid of Jaubada. He is a very wicked man, because he didn't listen to the missionaries, and went fishing on Sundays.

Then he goes back again to describe the doings of a *barau*. When they want to kill somebody they drink salt water, eat pepper, etc., for two nights and two days. They spit the water on his head, kill him, and cut his heart and blood vessels out for their *bona-bona*. Then they revive him again, and tell him :—

' You go and into the sea you dive and fish eat you.'

And this is the end of the victim.

Then he tells me what would happen if Kauanamo were to give me the real information about *barau* matters, that is, what would be my fate if I got what I was always asking for. If Kauanamo begins to *barau* he will spray his saliva into the air above you and Gomadobu, and you will both instantly fall down dead.

It is dinner time, and we are walking up to the house. He says, ' Please give me some wire ! ' ' Do you want it for a fish hook ? ' ' Well, what did you think ', he retorts, ' I want it for *barau !* '

And thereby he has revealed with absolute certainty what he is doing when on a fishing expedition with Gomadobu. He is doing what the father did with Kauanamo, two men on their outing to *barau* the people. Mr. Walker interrupts them : Christianity trying to exterminate the *barau*. In the dream, instead of the pair Father-Kauanamo we have the pair Doketa-Gomadobu. But he has recounted the evil deeds of these two, of Gomadobu and Kauanamo, to make them confess. Therefore we may substitute Kauanamo for Gomadobu in the dream, and say that Doketa has replaced his father. But in this case the dual has many meanings. We are both Doketas, and I am always making him talk about the *barau*. Here we have the supreme accusation, which he cannot confess because he does not know it. I, too, am a *barau* like the father. The dual in the dream has many meanings. I (Doketa) and Gomadobu working together as the two *baraus*. Then, he, Doketa, having taken the father's place, and going with Kauanamo to *barau* people. Then, myself (disguised under his identity) and he (as his uncle Kauanamo) as the two *baraus*. But finally and funda-

mentally, it all comes to this : the father (analyst) and the son (patient) do something illicit and do it together.

If it had not been for Christianity (Mr. Walker's interruption), he could have accompanied his father in his nightly perambulations. Anybody who walks at night is either a *barau* or a man going for girls, and the *bona* made by the *barau* is used for fishing and love magic. Therefore the picture should be interpreted : father and Kauanamo go together for their love-making. And the desire : father and son (analyst and patient) have intercourse with the same woman.

Another person who used to interrupt him in a pleasurable occupation was his mother. He was always playing, and she would call him to work. If we apply this to the latent content it would mean : father and son walk out together at night in search of girls, but they have to come home, and both are faithful to the mother. Considering my rôle as an interrupter, it would explain another aspect of my wickedness ; I keep things back, whereas I ought to give without limit, like a mother.

The little boy must have heard mysterious accounts of what his father and Kauanamo were doing at night—they kill (castrate) the people, revive them, and make them dive into the water—and assimilated these to his own unconscious phantasies as to what father and mother do at night. Now we understand the origin of his constant jumping into the water in his dreams. He is the person to whom the father does something at night—or rather the father (fish, pig, *barau*) bites and kills (castrates) him because he jumped into the water (mother).

Now we can also understand his hesitation in telling Kauanamo's deeds. In doing so, he would be making one *barau* fight the other and would be instrumental in killing me and Gomadobu, that is, his father and Kauanamo, just as the Guj people did when they sent the *kesusura*. For he is going to call a meeting against the *barau*—that is to kill all those who imitate his father.

In the second half of the dream Gomadobu represents myself, for I am always dividing food, or rather, in the infantile sense, he represents the father. In the end all his desires are realised ; by permission of the father he keeps the desirable object (trunk of the fish) for himself.

Dream 8

' Sky themselves angels they woke me, they said : you come and we go we walk about. We went and house large house its size from here

and Bwaruada in we went, other door in we came out and again other door we went in. One door we opened and Dr. Bromilow his shadow I saw. Bromilow that was sitting and his table on it books he piled up and he was writing. I came out, he saw me, stood up, we hands shook.'

This dream follows No. 7 within a day or two, and looks like a Christian answer to the fears of a *to-barau*. Although he goes fishing on Sundays, that is, breaks through the new taboo, he is still famous in Christendom, and shakes hands with the head of the mission. The angels, he says, had red lips and long white robes like *dimdim* women. They were like a picture he had seen in an illustrated Bible representing Christ's ascension from the grave. The picture shewed the people who had carried Christ from the cross to the grave, the angels who woke him from the grave, and his mother.

The house was a *dimdim* house, very big, with a very big light, like the hospital at Salamo. Saragigi took care of them, and interceded with the Government for them. He heard him preach once at Loboda. He spoke about Jesus as a *duruha* (a cave), where they would find an asylum against the troubles of this world.

But he didn't speak to Dr. Bromilow then, that was another time. He went to Dobu to visit his *une* friend, Kakalosi. Kakalosi's sister had been married to a Dobu man, and then she went, and stole a Christian man from his wife. The wife went and complained to Bromilow.

Kakalosi introduced him to Bromilow as an *esa esa* of Duau. He shook hands, and said, ' You wait outside till I have finished with these wicked people '. Then he told Kakalosi that if both the man and the woman refused to go back to their rightful consorts, they were to be put on a desert island without food or water, and there they can *lojawe* day and night.

As a Christian he is in a cave in a big house where no *barau* can hurt him. The last dream revealed parricide and incest as the latent meaning of the *barau*.

In the Christian way he finds intra-uterine protection, or rather a mild father with whom he shakes hands in the uterus. He is taken up to heaven by the same angels who took Christ up ; resurrection follows upon death, coitus is not death, for the penis will have another erection after having come out of the vagina. The cave of the sermon, the large house where they go in and out through the doors, and Christ's mother all represent the same latent meaning.

In all Doketa's dreams we have found the tendency to represent the fundamental wish-fulfilment as a terrible punishment. Thus, for instance, in Dream 7. The victim of the *barau* jumps into the sea, there to meet the fate in store for him. But according to the latent meaning of this association, the jump into the sea leads straight into the mother's womb. Here we find the intra-uterine situation in the island, and are told plainly what it represents ; the place where the sister (his *gumagi* being a substitute for Doketa himself) has intercourse without interruptions, i.e. has the possibility of incest with no father to fear. The two contrasting pictures are the white man's heaven and the white man's punishment, but for the unconscious they are resolved into the original situation from which they evolved, one in the direction of sublimation, the other distorted by anxiety.

Dream 9

'Nejawesi I dreamt and his daughter he carried and on his shoulder she sat and from his mouth blood poured out. I, I ran I said, Ho ! child you put down she has hurt you and disease big to you.'

The blood pouring out of Nejawesi's mouth reminds him of Gomasinara, a man who had a bad cough and was spitting blood recently. This Gomasinara is a very quarrelsome person, and recently he had a quarrel with his brother, Nejawesi (the man in the dream) about some betelnuts. Then again he quarrelled with Doketa. At a *sagari* that was held at Baita-huhuna, Doketa ought to have passed a wood basin filled with yams to Gomasinara. But he did not give anything to Gomasinara and Gomasinara said :—'Not my present you shouted down.'

The trouble is not only that he didn't get a present, but worse still, his name was not mentioned honourably at the *sagari*. Doketa simply answered, 'You didn't help me, so I didn't give you anything. Don't be angry '.

Nejawesi is a very good father. If his little daughter cries he always carries her. So is Doketa himself with his daughter, Ilebouma. When he was sick with pneumonia, he cried because he was afraid they would take him to the hospital, and he would have to leave his daughter behind. Wherever he goes she follows him. Her mother is *pakara* (hard) to the girl, and 'doesn't love her, so she is attached to me only, she sleeps with me, Tutuijara (his wife) sleeps in her house.'

There are two men in Doketa, the descendant of many *baraus* and cannibal leaders. The *barau* and the Christian, the man of war

(Gomasinara) and the man of peace (Nejawesi). For he identifies himself with Gomasinara in the pneumonia, with Nejawesi in the treatment of his daughter.

At the present moment he is having trouble in the family. Ilebouma wants to go to school at Salamo, Tutuijara wants her to stop at home and help her. Doketa, like a good father, says the girl is to have her will, although a separation from his daughter is the last thing he desires. In the id Nejawesi is replaced by his brother, Gomasinara, by desires of a fiercer unsublimated type—Doketa sleeps with his daughter, his wife in another house. The warning voice of the super-ego within says, 'Beware! incest will be your ruin!' And if we remember the equivalence of pleasure (crime) and punishment, we may guess that the blood pouring out of the father's *kawa* (mouth) represents the blood (semen) pouring into the daughter's *kawa* (vagina).

Dream 10

'To Ula I dreamt he came, he fetched me, he said: We go and we make court! My wife you *lojawed* with. So we went and Tutuijara beside me stood up. I said not possible and your wife to her I went, this my wife stood up beside me. And then Tutuijara helped me and said: this one not he run about with me; we stayed.'

The dream of a law-abiding citizen, yet inwardly an utter revolutionary, as the associations show.

To Ula is weak and old, a very bad policeman. Instead of making the people work on the coconut plantation, he lets them do as they like, and when the Government (Magistrate) comes, he makes a court case.

He is an old man and his wife a young and pretty woman: she is a *to-ganawara*, a stealer of boys. The words spoken by To Ula in the dream were spoken by an old man called Wannaj, his *tubuna*. This Waunaj had a wife with very many lovers. Waunaj collected all those who had had intercourse with his wife, and marched them up first to the native and then to the white missionary for judgment. But the latter said, 'It has nothing to do with me, because they are not Christians!'

This procession was great fun, the people were all joking about it. A Papuan will never go against authority, and therefore if you ask them, they will all approve of the Government system of punishing adultery by jail. But in his heart Doketa thinks the same as we do about a system which makes a man advertise his own insufficiency.

The words spoken by his wife may be enough to prove an *alibi*

before the magistrate, but they convict him in the eyes of the psychoanalyst. For the words were spoken by Dirana (Tutuijara's sister's son) when his brother, Heidani, was accused of having had intercourse with a married woman. The charge was quite true, but Dirana did not know this. The woman affirmed the truth of the charge herself because she wanted to divorce her husband and marry Heidani. Then Dirana was ashamed.

As a matter of fact To Ula's wife was Doketa's wife before. He stole her from her first husband. She said she left him because he was *ose*. She is a far more attractive woman than Tutuijara, and the reason why he divorced her was that she was too much of a *to-ganawara*. Everybody was talking about her love affairs.

But there is a great difference between his first and his second marriage, between romance and a *mariage de convenance*. We see what his second marriage means to him—it is cemented not by Eros, but by the instinct of self-protection. He is now son-in-law of Lobeseni, and may expect a further augmentation of his already numerous gardens in the future. Marriage, therefore, is the same thing to him as his *sagaris* and his Christianity, a self-created difficulty in following his real desires, and a sort of guarantee against the dangers with which these desires are connected. But Tutuijara is vastly mistaken if she thinks she has his whole heart. While he sleeps beside her, his desires go back to his first wife, the wife of many husbands.

He adds that as a matter of fact To Ula's wife has now a *liaison* with Ne Jauloa, To Ula's nephew. Perhaps Ne Jauloa is again a disguise of the dreamer's, and points back to his infancy when the grandfathers, uncles and fathers were the ridiculous, stingy old men in possession of the women, and he was the young boy whose secret desire was for the elder women of his clan.

Dream II

'Leumo with him we went, betelnuts we plucked. I betelnuts in a bag I carried. To the village we came that betelnuts I divided it. And Leumo said: how many our betelnuts you stowed away. I, I said: I have finished them.'

The tree where they pluck the betelnut is a tree at Murisiija, a Dobu village. The tree belongs to Mwaidojani, an *une* friend of his (*gumagi*). Leumo is one of his nephews, a quiet man who is great in the *une* like Doketa himself. His one peculiarity is that he is much addicted to chewing. In reality events happened just as they are

represented in the dream. They went with Leumo to get the *magi* of Mwaidojani, but when Leumo asked, ' How many did you stow away ? ' he answered, ' One bag I divided, one I have kept.'

Then he talks about old days. His play-fellow was his cousin Jawenoli. When they were a bit bigger they used to call on the girls together. Jawenoli was a *taj gagasa* (cheeky man), and they were companions both in *ipwara* (theft) and the *lojawe*. They stole Jesse's (wife's brother's) betelnuts. Once they went to a bush village, and both of them went up to the same girl. She sent them away to steal some *magi*, so that they could chew together. When they returned with the stolen *magi* the girl told Jawenoli to go home, and Doketa stayed all night.

A *to-ganawara* means both things, a thief and a Don Juan, and to pluck *magi* is both the introduction to and the symbol of coitus. What is the *magi* that Doketa plucks with Leumo ? It is the free love of old days, of the golden days of his youth. The dream formula is for security. In reality there was another bag left after he had made the division. In the dream he tells Leumo, it is all over, no more adventures for me. The dream technique is the same as in Dream No. 10, for the associations refute the dream text. He talks about his old victories in love, and Jawenoli is the vanquished rival. Jawenoli is his *nibana*, a member of his father's clan, and they sometimes say *tamana* instead of *nibana*. In the next dream we shall see Kauanamo, his father's *nibana*, in the rôle of vanquished rival. Behind the yearning for his *rawerawes* there are still older ties. He plucks the *magi* with Leumo, his sister's son—that is, they both love the same woman who is sister to him, mother to Leumo. If we regard Jawenoli as representing the father, the dream points back to still older ties, and the tree stands for the mother. Then the dream presents a very different aspect, and the dreamer says : ' It is all a lie, I am not a quiet man, a Leumo, but a *taj gagasa*, a Jawenoli, who takes away what belongs to others, a man who can steal the mother from the father '.

Incidentally the dream throws some light on the significance of the *une*. The keyword of all *une* magic is ' *igu taj mamwanena* ', ' my man with his wife ', i.e. these two are to love him. The leader of the *une* arriving on a strange shore is the child making magic to obtain the love of a new father and a new mother.

Dream 12

' Kauanamo shouted over to me, he said : Woman that beside you lies.'

He has brought all the women of Duau to shew me some dances, and one of them is his former wife, now To Ula's wife. Last night she asked him for some tobacco, a request that means an offer on the part of a woman. Old Kauanamo would not miss such an opportunity for joking, and last night he was teasing him about it. The whole dream consists only of Kauanamo's words, and these words were spoken before by a man called Wanajli, his *tasina* (brother, that is, mother's sister's son).

The two boys went together for their courting, but Wanajli came after he had been lying with the girl for some time. It was now in accordance with custom that he should give up his place and let his friend have the girl for the rest of the night. He did so, but as it was raining, he said he would not sleep on the ground but near the door. The girl left Wanajli who had fallen asleep, and crept over to where he was lying. Wanajli awoke, and shouted the words said by Kauanamo in the dream.

Yesterday evening he was enjoying an experience that was fully in accord with his unconscious desires. He was talking about coitus with Kauanamo, his father's best friend. It is the old situation again ; Doketa and his father (represented by Kauanamo) having intercourse with the same woman. But Doketa is triumphant, for after all the woman was his wife, the woman he stole from an old husband, and Kauanamo's words are those of a vanquished rival of his youth.

Then he goes on to tell me another story. There was a man in Bunama, in the village of Siuta, who was born without a penis. *Gea kusi namo* (not penis at all). He has no penis, no testicles. Because he was a very rich man, he married a very pretty girl. His wife said : ' You are a very good man, you give me everything, but you never cohabit with me ! Will you let me go to another man ? ' He said yes, and she married another man. Again he wedded another pretty girl, and the same thing happened again. Four times he was married, and four times divorced. All he could do was to *kauboda* (close) the girl's vagina with his hand.

This additional piece of information must be read from two sides. In the first instance the Bunama man is the last of a series of ridiculous old men. He stands for the Œdipus complex in its rude and original form, and represents Doketa as castrating the father and having intercourse with the mother. But it also represents a sound piece of genital criticism directed against Doketa's own character and against the Duau type of social organization in general. ' What is the good of

being a rich man ! Like myself, he was a leader of the *une ;* but it is only the penis that matters ! What is the good of marrying for more gardens when I should like to have my first wife back again ! What a stupid custom that we have to give up the girl if a friend asks for her ! Rather castrate the man and keep the girl.'

Dream 13

'Tutuijara was slow and I said good-bye to you, so Tutuijara said : not I said good-bye and they sailed. I, I said : before your time we promised friday we come, we were slow and finished, they have sailed ready.'

When Inia, the mission teacher at Loboda, went away for the Synod, Doketa came too late to say good-bye to him. Then Inois said the words in the dream. Inois went away because his wife is expecting to be delivered at the Salamo hospital. He never leaves her even for a short time. But his words are *kabokabo* (lie) ; he said he would be back in three weeks, and the three weeks are over now.

When I am about to leave him to get my dinner he says, ' You will be going to Salamo, don't fail to call on Ilebouma there ! She sends her love, and she regards you like her father and the *sinabada* (my wife) like her mother ! '

This he dreams the night before I leave and thus finishes this analysis *en miniature* in a perfectly regular fashion.

I am like Inois, the man who leaves but doesn't come back. He is jealous of my wife. I am always with her and not with him. The same attitude is manifested regarding his own wife ; he takes leave of me alone, and she comes too late. In fact the two jealousies are one and the same, for if my wife is Ilebouma's mother, she is also his wife, and it is he who has made her pregnant. But I am also the father and my wife the mother of his own childhood, and the dream means the father goes away (dies), and I shall make the mother pregnant. Finally from the point of view of the inverted Œdipus complex, I am jealous of the mother because ' the father is always with *her*, and makes *her* pregnant '.

In order to avoid misunderstandings, I must make it clear that Doketa is not undergoing analysis ! It would be utterly impossible to induce a Dobuan to submit to a lengthy proceeding, the one and essential condition of which is that he must never be ashamed of anything, and always give utterance to all his thoughts. He could never endure such a sacrifice of his narcissism. Also, there is no reason

why he should do so. He is never in conflict with reality, for excepting only if he is demented, he can always work in his garden, and thereby secure his social standing.

But the process shews striking analogies to analysis. For one thing, by acting up to the ideal of the '*gujao*', the head of the matrilineal clan, who is really a bountiful mother, I get a strong transference in which he also shows the latent aggression of the original Œdipus complex. Then I am continually asking for his dreams, and dreams are the *via regia* to the unconscious. In associating to these dreams, he shows the same signs of resistance as a patient would in a regular analysis, but these symptoms cannot be explained to him.

What, after all, have we been able to learn from this series of dreams related at more or less irregular intervals and from our personal knowledge of the dreamer ?

Here is a man who is very different from what he would like to be. He is a good husband, and would much rather be a Don Juan. He is a peaceful Christian, but in the depth of his heart a great *barau*. He gives with a free hand, but is really grasping and avaricious.

All this secondary character formation is merely a shield to protect him against the dangers of unlimited pleasure. He has failed in his attempted father-identification (*barau*), and the reason of his failure is his castration anxiety (fear of the *barau*). Or we may say that his father-identification is strongly influenced by the inverted Œdipus complex, for he is successful only in imitating his father where that father really represents the mother. He has never got rid of his two infantile phobias, the dread of the *barau* (father) and the *werabana* (mother). At the *mwadare* he gives to Daiko his sister, and thus realizes in a sublimated form an element of his primary Œdipus attitude. But in doing so, he does not give with the freedom of genitality. Fear of Daiko's witchcraft (castration anxiety) has a lot to do with his generosity.

As mirrored through Doketa's dreams, quite a number of features of Duau society can be explained. We see the secondary nature of a marriage based on considerations of wealth. He must be wealthy to be able to give always new *sagaris* and thereby placate his enemies. He is a great *une* leader, and here at last he is braving his 'mothers' to do their worst, and always getting a chance to succumb to new temptations.

We can also get some information regarding the psychology of conversion. Christianity offers him the protection of a new father, a

father who sits beside his son, and a son who is identical with his father. In its manifold symbolism, the new religion can provide for all the trends of the unconscious, for the new god is also a cave of protection, a maternal womb.

It is true that the old social organization and religion could have given him exactly the same substitute formations. But in adopting the new religion, he was satisfying both aspects of his Œdipus complex. He was giving up aggressiveness, the *barau* art, and at the same time he was realizing his Œdipus wishes by supporting a religion that had set out to suppress the *barau* and the old order of things. By becoming a Christian, Doketa has found a temporary relief from his old anxieties. But how long ? Jaubada is becoming just as dangerous as the *baraus* were, and after all it doesn't make much difference whether you are afraid to touch a tree that has been marked by a taboo or whether you are afraid to go fishing on a Sunday.

IX

SUPER-EGO AND GROUP-IDEAL

Grown-up people have a way of bothering children with stupid questions. For instance, a very favourite one is: 'What are you going to do when you grow up?' If we now examine children's answers, we cannot fail to be struck by their stereotyped character. Twenty years ago, by far the commonest reply (at least in Hungary) was: 'I am going to be a hussar' (or 'a soldier' or 'a general'). Coachmen, railway-guards and others played a less important but nevertheless considerable part in the aspirations of the children. Nowadays they would probably say that they wanted to be airmen and fly across the sea. In England the pirate was an equally popular hero in youthful circles.

It is obvious that these ideals owe something to the influence of adults. If there had been no such thing as a militaristic society children would never have wished to be generals. On the other hand, there are professions, highly esteemed by society, which are never, or very rarely indeed, accepted by children as ideals. Conversely, we may observe that they often choose subordinate positions (such as that of a coachman). Analysis gives us an excellent opportunity of discovering the determining factors in the choice of a profession, and we can say that the point at issue is the finding of a method of gratifying instinct which shall be acceptable to the super-ego—the finding that is, of a substitute-gratification. Or, to put it the other way round but no less correctly, we are dealing with some line of development in the conscious part of the super-ego (Alexander: *Ichideal*) which corresponds to a particular constellation of instincts or to some special situation in the subject's childhood.

In modern society with its various strata there are many such group-ideals. Farmers, business men, artists, civil servants have a different view of life and different ideals. In primitive races, on the other hand, we find substantially homogeneous groups, and it is not difficult for the analytic investigator to discover the nature of the group-ideal. It is revealed in the subject's attitude to the analyst himself and also in the dreams narrated to him, when the transference has come to play a considerable part in them. The present article, accordingly, links up with my paper on psycho-analytic technique in field work (Chap. II.) and works out in greater detail a certain point which I only touched upon there.

Wapiti dubbed me '*galtja indora*' ('highly learned') and on the strength of this learning I established a good transference with the Central Australian natives. I was one of the *knaripata* (old men, fathers), for they alone had knowledge of *churungas*, ancestral legends and ceremonies. This was what Pukuti-wara told me about his grandfather, a famous chief of the Pitchentara and a guardian of the most important *churungas*. We have only to observe the respect accorded by the Aranda to the few old men who are still versed in the legends and cults of the tribe to see at once that the ideal of the Aranda is the chief as guardian of the *churungas* and of the tribal traditions.

Now Renana's dreams have shewn us that we can learn much about the psychological structure of the tribe (just as they learn their own legends) from the *churunga*. The *churunga* as the father's penis must not be removed from the maternal cave—this is, as it were, the very principle of stability of the Aranda mind. But the principle is violated every time the rites take place; the *churunga* are taken out of the cave, the father's penis is snatched from the mother's body. 'Thou shalt not take the *churunga* from its cave—thou shalt not separate man and wife (i.e. father and mother)'. This separation is carried out in every rite, and not only symbolically, but in actual fact: for the male half and the female half of the tribe are separated from one another on the ceremonial ground. When we consider, further, that the supreme commandment in the religion of the Aranda is that the *churungas* are to be preserved, we must assume again that, down at the bottom, there lies the wish to destroy the father's penis (*churunga*).

On August 25, 1929, Leliltukutu had the following dream:—

He and Pukuti-wara went up a high mountain in the North. There he saw something round and shining. They came down again and a fire was burning in a hole. The flames blazed up, Pukuti-wara was ill and lay down on the ground. He climbed a tree and looked towards Urupindja. They went in that direction and saw a woman's footprints. Then they came to Utepata; Pukuti-wara was by this time very ill and weak. Beside a fig-tree they found water; they drank some and sprinkled themselves with it. Then they went on to Urupindja. There was a man there, drinking water, and a woman and a child. The man had intercourse with the woman, while the child slept a little way off. When the man saw them, he stood with his penis still erect. He became enraged, took his spear and hurled it at Pukuti-wara. It pierced his breast and he died on the spot. The dreamer woke with a cry.

Nothing could be clearer than this dream. The central incident is a coitus-scene and the dreamer appears on the stage as the sleeping child. The natives, indeed, always say that they have intercourse only when the children are asleep. This child, however, was not asleep, and what took place in him was repressed, but came to the surface again in this dream. The woman in the dream looked like Wangapari, who was formerly his wife. She was considerably older than he and has now married F. (a white man). The man in the dream looked like his uncle. In connection with the burning fire Lelíltukutu now told me a long story about his childhood. The place was called Walu-ngura, i.e. ' the place of fire ' and, according to legend, a fire-ancestor had been burnt there. As a child, Lelíltukutu went there with his father and mother, and something happened which was concealed from him. His father had killed a man,[1] and the child saw the traces of blood, but was told it was that of a kangaroo. From the fragments given in the associations we can easily reconstruct his infantile phantasy. The child saw the father's erect penis (= spear) and was terrified : ' He is going to kill mother with this, or perhaps me ? ' In the dream the man who was performing coitus appeared in fact with his penis erect and did actually spear somebody, namely, Pukuti-wara, who accompanied the dreamer and represented part of him. At this time Pukuti-wara was indeed ill and it was just to Lelíltukutu and his friends that he turned for the usual *nankara* treatment (sucking out the matter causing the sickness). Apart from this, however, Pukuti-wara as an older man and a famous chief of the Pitchentara also signified the father. For Lelíltukutu told me that he first met him at Nuninta. This name means a dog with penis erect after coitus. Nauilja, the dog of primordial days, was said to have fought a combat in this condition with another mythological dog, Walurumba, at Nuninta. Now the two ' dogs ', who fought with penises erect, stood for father and son ; and the woman was in fact one who had had intercourse both with the dreamer and with an older white man (= father-equivalents). But there is another aspect of the primal scene. He was looking for something round and shining. This was really a *takula*, a shell used for rain-magic. This shell moves about in the water, and only a pregnant woman can find it. Now, if we combine this information with the dream-scene of the father with the erect penis, it becomes plain that the dream-journey, like the

[1] An enemy (' *wanapa* ') i.e. really simply a stranger.

mythical ones, stands for a coitus-journey, to secure that the father with his spear (erect penis) should come to the dreamer and not to the mother. The day before, he and Pana had acted out the parts of two women who played in the sand after having had intercourse with the primordial heroes. As this scene, like the round shell, belongs to the cycle of water-myths, it is obvious that the boy reacted to the primal scene with the impulses of both the positive and the negative Œdipus complex.

Now why have I reproduced here the whole analysis of this dream ? What connection has it with ideal-formation and with *churunga ?* When I asked Leliltukutu if he remembered having witnessed coitus, he said ' No ', but he had once watched Patu-walantu, his father (i.e. his father's brother) making a *churunga.* It was a *nanananana* (demons') *churunga,* and that was what they were performing yesterday ! Now yesterday he had enacted the part of the woman of primeval times, who had had intercourse with the *nanananas.* I have already pointed out repeatedly that for a native Australian child only two things are really forbidden : to witness parental coitus and to see the *churunga.* Now we know that the ideal-formation of the group is closely connected with chieftainship and with the cult of the *churunga,* and so the latent content of Leliltukutu's dream enables us to reconstruct certain stages of transformation in the development of these ideals. We may take as our starting-point the direct Œdipus-wish, the boy's fury in the situation of the primal scene. ' My father is having intercourse with my mother ; I want to spear him, to destroy his penis (*churunga*) ! ' Then we have the anxiety-equivalent : ' Because I wanted to do this, my father will kill me with his gigantic penis '. As a third step the same formula receives a pleasure-cathexis : ' My father must " kill " *me* (i.e. " make me pregnant ") and not my mother '. And, finally, on the basis of these preliminary steps there ensues the formation of the super-ego, as introjection of the father. ' But if my father is in me, then I *am* my father '. Thus the positive Œdipus-complex in both its emotional trends (destruction and acknowledgment of the father) has found a satisfactory form of sublimation.

But the formula : ' My father is in me ' signifies also ' I am my mother who in sexual intercourse receives my father into herself '. Now, only a pregnant woman has ' another body ', i.e. the fœtus, in her womb, and the initiated, who receive the *churunga* as ' another body ', have also a vagina in their penis (subincision hole).

At the very beginning of human history there took place that

fateful occurrence which thenceforth we see proliferating and spreading in endless complications. In Australia, however, we find at least a fairly successful attempt at dealing with the problem, or, rather, getting rid of it altogether: the *churungas* are to remain undisturbed in their cave. Under the influence of castration-anxiety the Œdipus wish undergoes its first deflection, or rather repression, and this it is which results in the Œdipus complex proper.

The formation of the super-ego represents, then, a compromise between the repressing and the repressed forces. The former triumph in reality; the opposition has to content itself with phantasy-equivalents. In the uniformity of these, i.e. in the existence of a single group-ideal, we must recognize a characteristic of primitive forms of society.

Let us now cross over to Normanby Island, where we shall find people of quite a different type. Any psychological sketch that can be made of their characteristics probably applies not to this island only but to the whole Papuo-Melanesian area. '*Aboama me Papua*' ('We are the Papuan people'), they used to say, 'and we all have the same customs'. For a Papuan, life consists in the giving and receiving of presents. Everybody is working in the gardens for feasts! What trouble they all take to be able to give handsomely, and how they hate giving! Truth will out not only in our cups, but also in our jests. One day two natives were sitting near me, and the one asked the other for some tobacco. The second man opened his basket, saying: 'Here you are. What I have is yours'. 'And is it not poisoned?' retorted the first speaker. This, of course, was only a joke, for no one would openly impute to another the practice of black magic or poisoning. And yet again it was not a joke, for, though the gift is made, there is hatred in the heart of the giver. Besides hatred there is associated with giving and receiving a quite remarkable feeling of shame. One day, old Kauanamo, the chief of Majawa, came to see me and began describing his journey from Majawa to Sipupu—how many halts he had made, what a bad road it was, how blazing hot the sun had been, and how grey his hair was. At that time I did not know the old man very well and had no idea what he was aiming at. At last it came out: 'What was it that the man from Boasitoroba told you?' he asked, 'they tell me you gave him money'. He was referring to Sawaitoja, the third biggest magician on the island,[2] contemptuously designating

[2] After Kauanamo and Bulema.

him as ' the man from Boasitoroba '. What had happened was this : I knew well that Sawaitoja was a learned magician (*barau*) and yet he would not tell me any of his spells. One day, therefore, I held out the inducement to him that, if he would initiate me into the secrets of black magic, I would give him money as well as my usual presents of rice and tobacco. This was a form of magic which the magician could not withstand. And he was ' *gagasa* ' (proud, boastful) about it, though I had warned him to say nothing to anyone or he would be laying a snare for himself. People would be quite cunning enough to know that, if he received money, there was something behind it. But he could not hold his tongue, and this was why the old man told me how aged he was and how toilsome his journey had been. He had known nothing about any money, but when he reached Majawa, everyone asked him where the money was that the white man had given him, and he had a feeling of great *omaimaia* (shame) because he had had none. Indeed, others told me that the people of Sipupu too were very angry. They said in the village that a man from Boasitoroba or Duau was given tobacco and rice, but they themselves were given tobacco only. My informant said : ' I was furious and said to these people : " You had the rice, and you have eaten and sh—— it ! " ' Here, we must call to mind the explanation given in two earlier papers. The group-ideal of the people of Papua is the *toni-sagari*, the feast-giver or host, who in Ucs is always a mother who suckles her children. But how can a man achieve such a psychic *tour de force* as to turn his aggressive nature into that of a loving mother ? Only with the utmost difficulty, and the accompanying hatred expresses itself through the gift being transformed from mother's milk into fæces.

During the feast the hosts cannot do enough in the way of giving. But afterwards they say : ' What a pity for all our yams ! ' And the guests, on their way home, always pour abuse on the meanness of their hosts. One day we were going back from Digora and the evil manners of its people were just being discussed. What presents ! Quite absurd ! Thereupon one of the lads who were rowing said : ' O mothers of Widiwidi, where is the flatus from your anus to fill our sails ? ' That is to say, a poor present or one given with a bad grace is not that which comes from the mother's breast but from her anus.

At such a feast, moreover, brawls frequently break out. In connection with a dream Ramoramo told me the history of one of these village battles. The dream was as follows :

' I was carrying my child in my arms and there came the spirit of

my wife's first husband. He took the child and hurled it against a rock. I wept '.

It turned out that the man in the dream was not really the wife's first husband, but his ' *tubuna* ' (grandfather, i.e. member of the same totem-clan as the grandfather), who married the elder sister, while Ramoramo took the younger. As in their youth the two men were good friends and used to visit the girls together, we may regard the spirit in the dream as representing part of the dreamer's personality. In the dream he was in festal garb, carrying a club and sweet-smelling flowers, as is customary for those who are going to a *sagari*. Here Ramoramo paused and I asked him what he was thinking of. ' I am trying to think what to tell you. The story of Tokedukeketai came into my mind, but, of course, you know it ! ' Then he told me about a *sagari* given by Bebe many years ago, in Boasitoroba. At this *sagari* a man from Sipupu, a *wahana* (uncle or nephew) of Ramoramo, did not receive the gift that was his due and this led to a fight with the people of Boasitoroba. What made matters worse was that the dead man in whose honour the *sagari* was given was really the uncle (*wahana*) of the man who was thus slighted. He was ready to attack his own folk, in order to give the people of Boasitoroba a hint of how badly they had behaved.

The modern account of a matrilineal society in Papua differs from older accounts in that it does actually give a picture of the situation, but it is a distorted picture, seen out of true perspective. We are told that the fathers in a matrilineal society are something quite different from those of the unfortunate patrilineal peoples. In the former type of society the father has no authority over the children. He is in fact outside the family circle, a benevolent friend who plays with the children and gives them presents and, since they belong to the wife's family, gets up feasts for them. There is no ambivalence—no Œdipus complex ; for if you must have something of the sort, that is what the uncle is for ! But in our present dream the ambivalent attitude is quite plain : one ' father ' kills the child and the other weeps over it. But behind the figure of the father who kills (he is the dreamer's brother-in-law) there lurk the figures of other dead men, above all, of his uncle in whose honour the celebration was held. This uncle was a great singer, and Ramoramo sang me some of his best-known songs. The first was about a widow. Her second husband had to surrender her again, because her people could not or would not give the appropriate presents to the family of her dead first husband. The second

song was about a deserted wife, whose husband said he could give her nothing more. Feasts are, after all, celebrated in honour of the dead—the abandoned love-objects—because one feels oppressed by a heavy consciousness of guilt. But it is just at this point that the restrained aggressive impulses break through the repression. In the dream the dreamer kills his child and in reality he attacks the people of his own village. The tender father of the dream suggested another very significant association; Ramoramo wanted to tell me the story of Tokedukeketai. Tokedukeketai was the great devourer of men of primordial times and was killed by Matakapotaiataia, the Œdipus of Duau. Amongst those whom he ate were his own sons. Ramoramo also quite unsuspectingly indicated the reason for the conflict between fathers and sons, for he sang a song about the victory of Boasitoroba, that is, of the enemy on the occasion of the battle after the feast. And Boasitoroba caused the enemy to flee for refuge ' between their mother's feet '. I have known many fathers and sons in Duau and, from a knowledge of their dreams as well as observation of everyday life, I can say that things are just the same with them as with us. In the first period of childhood and in the deepest strata of the unconscious the situation is identical. For instance, a native of Sipupu dreamt that he was being pursued by a *rara* [3] spirit because he wanted to pluck *iki*, a certain fruit which, in honour of this spirit, was taboo. It turned out that when he was a child, he had had a similar experience. His foster-father (who was also his father's brother—*madiana*) and his real father owned an *iki*-tree between them. As a small boy he used to steal the fruit, early in the morning, until Didibwaga noticed it and hid near the tree. The next time the child came Didibwaga pretended to be a *rara*-spirit and the boy ran home in panic terror. Thus he was plucking the fruit from his father's tree and, as a punishment, his father wanted to kill him. The fact that in the dream the father appears as the blood-spirit has also a special significance, for people die of this illness when they have eaten food from an enemy village, or, more exactly, food from a village in which their fathers' blood has been shed. In the dream the *iki*-fruit was plucked near a grave, and this grave reminded him of that of Raraworu, whose burial we had attended together. ' Raraworu ' means ' black blood '. As we went through the bush to the grave, Ramoramo was in high spirits and said jokingly: ' We are going to the grave of a man whom I have killed and whose widow I

[3] A certain much-dreaded disease. ' *Rara* ' = ' blood '.

shall marry ! ' If we apply this remark to the interpretation of the dream, we get the following latent content : ' I should like to kill and eat my father (food from the village where his blood was shed) and marry my mother (my father's widow, fruit from his tree ')—with the corollary, inspired by anxiety : ' but then my father will come as the blood-spirit to kill me '.

But the little Papuan grows older and then he learns a new truth : ' You have nothing to do with your father ', they tell him, ' You belong to your mother '. She and her brother become the persons who have authority over him, he is told that he is the heir (= the copy) of his mother's brother and in his work and at feasts he becomes absorbed into the group of his relatives on his mother's side. Here we have something similar which yet is also the exact opposite of what we observed in Australia. There the attempt is made to detach the boy from his mother by means of the initiation ceremony, i.e. suddenly and as by a jerk. Here in Papua we witness the converse process, and slowed down in tempo. In the Australian case we were able to interpret the process as a defence against a danger to the ego—a libidinal endangerment of the ego from the side of the mother. Is it not possible that here in Papua we have something similar from the side of the father ?

One day we were discussing customs connected with little children. Thereupon the people of Sipupu told me that it was customary for a father to take the child's genital in his mouth and, biting it gently, to say : ' I am eating it ! I am eating your penis ' (or ' vagina '). I then asked : ' Does not the mother do this ? ' But they said, ' No ', only the father fondled a child in this fashion. Boys react to the threat of castration with a repression and in Cs this process is replaced by the official ' scotomization ' of the father. In the nursery, the primeval giant who eats people is a very real figure. Taking as our starting-point, then, the idea of devouring or being devoured, we can trace the stages of psychic development in this famous race of cannibals. As the basis of the whole process we should have to take the situation of the male infant at his mother's breast : ' I want to eat up my mother all by myself ; my brothers are not to have any share in her '. Next, we find the formation, assisted by the governing trauma of the infantile period, of a super-ego with a marked reactive colouring. Projection adds its share, of course : the father appears in the guise of a mythological forest-giant who eats human beings. In reality, too, cannibalism appears as something outside the boundaries of the tribe. The two

explanations of the custom which were offered to me reflected both its origin and its specific development amongst the Dobu. The first explanation was that human flesh made the best eating, because its smell was like our own smell : the stranger who is eaten represents for the unconscious a very close relation. The other explanation was that the people eaten were generally such as were prominent in some way or another. If a man were a famous singer or magician, or very rich or handsome, he was always in danger of being eaten. It was not, as is often reported about primitives, in order that those who ate him might acquire his attributes ; it was out of jealousy pure and simple.

We see how powerful the oral-sadistic elements—or, to put it another way, the destructive instinct-components—are in the formation of the Œdipus complex and how from the clash of these aggressive tendencies there develops a super-ego which stands in special opposition to the primal instincts. He who, like Tokedukeketai, would prefer to eat everything up himself is condemned to play the part of the loving mother who feeds her children. The model held up for the boy to copy is his mother's brother, who represents a compromise between the male and female lines of development. Thus the uncle becomes a substitute for the father and the conflict of ambivalence attaches itself to him. Of course, this is only what happens in reality, in Cs ; in Ucs the infantile situation remains unchanged. The process of development can be reconstructed in some such stages as these. (1) The basic element is the child's wish : ' I want to eat my mother '. (2) The anxiety-equivalent of this wish is strongly reinforced by the governing trauma in this society : ' My father eats me '. (3) The accumulation of libido and the anxiety-tension become unbearable in this situation and give rise to the social formula, i.e. that of the super-ego : ' There are no fathers, only mothers ', or, somewhat less categorically : ' You belong to the mothers, not to the fathers '. The pleasure-gain from this formula is obvious : ' There are no fathers, i.e. no people who will eat you, but only mothers, whom you can eat '. But put in the second way the formula signifies a direction of ego-development : ' If you are a mother, you must let yourself be eaten—you must share yourself out at the feast '. Here, as with the natives of Australia, we see the governing infantile trauma returning from its repression, for every Papuan who distributes food is ' eaten ' by strangers, as he was by his father in the primordial period of infancy. In the group-ideal of the rich uncle who makes the distribution—the *toni-sagari*—a peculiar form of super-ego-formation is embodied. Whilst, however, in

Australia the super-ego tends to find expression and discharge more in the formation of symptoms and the cult of *churunga*, the Papuan has no equivalent lightning-conductor, and a really profound alteration of character ensues.

Let us now leave the country of unwilling hosts and discontented guests and cross over to the Yuma Indians on the border of California, Arizona and Mexico. They are an agricultural people like the Papuans, but their society is patriarchal like that of the Australians. I must, however, retract what I have just said and confess how inadequate and inaccurate our formulas really are. It is true that these Indians are husbandmen, but not in the same way as the Papuans are. The Yuma used to plant maize and melons in the region subject to flooding by the River Colorado. But this husbandry by no means had the economic importance of Papuan agriculture, for with the harvest-feast the harvest was all divided. Winter-provisions took the form of a store of mesquite beans : the economy of the Yuma was one of food-collecting rather than agriculture. And although, naturally, here too a generous host was the object of praise, his social status did not depend on his generosity, and there was nothing comparable to the plutocratic view of life of the Papuans. But, on the other hand, neither were the Yuma Indians patrilineal in the same sense as the Australians. Their women were not excluded from religious rites and there was no society of men only, comparable to that of the Australians. In fact, our terms of classification are inadequate.

The Yuma are *par excellence* a people of dreams. All one's success in life depends, in their view, on one's dreams. Not only must one have dreams in order to be a fine horseman or warrior, but all personal qualities, in fact, one's whole character depends on dreams. Above all, one must dream in order to become a medicine-man. Any failure in treatment leads to suspicion whether the medicine-man's dream-experience is genuine. These dreams are so jealously kept secret that I was certainly the first person to whom the oldest medicine-man of the tribe, who was over seventy years of age, ever told his ' medicine-dream '. My interest in dreams roused in fact considerable suspicion. They thought it quite incredible that I should want to hear the common dreams which anyone could dream. It must be the medicine-men's dreams that I was really after ! Yielding to much persuasion, Wakierhuuk (' Shouting Cowboy '), a middle-aged medicine-man, told me the following dream :

' I was standing by the water—a mighty water—and I saw it. It

was called Xavil (Colorado). He who called it that sat down and created things : the horse and the ass, and gave them names. He made many things, and then he made a woman and then a man, so that they should multiply. He struck the ground and the water came forth. Then he named the tribes and said : " If anyone falls sick, lift up your left hand, hold it over him like this and he will be well " '.

Wakierhuuk went on to describe the creation of man and woman in greater detail. In the dream he saw how a penis and a vagina were added respectively to the bodies which were already finished. ' The creator held his hand over the head of a man, who looked rather like you ! ' said he. ' Anyhow, no one will convince me that you are not a medicine-man ', he added suddenly.

I could not get any further associations to the dream, which, as mentioned, he had only communicated after much persuasion. Let us therefore postpone its proper interpretation and merely note that the typical part of the medicine-dream lies in the healing scene : the dreamer watches how the spirit performs the cure. He always does something with his left hand and the shaman copies this in his own procedure. As an introductory scene we have the creation, in which the adding of the genitals to the man and woman and the bursting-forth of the water are specially emphasized.

I will now take another dream of the same sort. The dreamer was Matkwas-humar (Yellow Earth-Young), the oldest living medicine-man of the tribe. As a young man he used to listen, with the others, to speeches being made by his uncle (*nequi*), who was a mighty chief and a good man. But the remarkable thing was the nature of the uncle's speeches. They consisted of edifying sermons, in which the young men were exhorted to lead moral lives. They were to try to see the chief in their dreams and to repeat what he said, and then they too would become orators and chiefs. The fact that in many Indian tribes it is customary for such sermons to be delivered, that is to say, that the Indians educate their children in our sense of the word, is very remarkable, in comparison with other so-called primitive races.[4] The young man, then, really did succeed in dreaming of his uncle, of how he stood there with his *kovsho* (nasal ornament), but he never succeeded in repeating his uncle's words. So he did not become an orator, but, later, he had another dream, through which he became a medicine-man.

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[4] Cf. P. Radin : *The Autobiography of a Winnebago Indian.* Univ. Cal., 1920, XVI., p. 450.

' I dreamt of the bird *uruc* (nighthawk), which came and stopped outside the house. It led me into a far country, and there the dream-giver said to me : " My name is Nemesawa Kutchaer. Now see what I am going to make. It will become alive, I will make it and call it ' Backwards and forwards at night " '. And he sang this song :

Land of *Evii Kumii* . . . Make it live . . . You will see it . . . I will do it and you will do it too . . . And it (the mountain) rose up . . . Your left hand will sweat . . . And you must press it on the body . . . And he did so . . . Pressing it on the body . . . And he (the sick man) rose up . . . He came to life . . . You see it and you will do the same '.

But another dream was interpolated into this one. The spirit reminded him of this other dream, but he only told it much later, in the following words :

' I was in my mother's womb and came out. And he showed me another land and in it there rose up barren, withered trees. " You will see ", he said, " I will bring them (i.e. the trees) to life. At night I will take you to *another house*, where you can see it, the front of the skirt ; you will go into the farthest corner, and from there, in the house, you will look up to *where the bones join*—you will really see it. This is not the true dream, but if you are fortunate, it will come later. You will see it in the land of mist, of clouds. Little birds standing in a row—it belongs to you and people will laugh at it " '.

The text of the dream needs some explanation. The *uruc*, or nighthawk, in the mythical songs narrated as also ' dreamt ',[5] heralds the dawn and so the end of the song. The name : ' Nemesawa Kutchaer ' could not be translated nor analysed. I was told only that it was the name of a long, white fish, but that in the dream the fish-spirit appeared as a human being. It was also identified by the dreamer—certainly not very logically—with the spirit of the legendary mountain, *Evii Kumii* (' mountain-high '). In connection with the name : ' *tinyam kwackawak* ' (backwards and forwards at night) he remarked that this was an illness which one of his patients had at a later time. There was a similar illness : ' *tinyam kwaljewish* ' (' turning round and round at night '). Patients suffering from this disease howled, turned round and round and a white froth came from their mouths. Those so afflicted were generally women, and one of his female patients died

[5] I.e. the narrator declares that he dreamt them ; actually, he has learnt them.

of it. In the dream the spirit turned his own shadow into a person, who was the patient. The little birds were the patients whom the dreamer would heal. ' It belongs to you ' meant that he would acquire power and esteem. ' People will laugh at it ' signified the applause of the crowd.

It is often asserted by the Kuccan (this is the proper name of the Yuma) that every really great shaman receives his power when he is still in his mother's womb, or at least that he already begins to learn there. But if we look more closely we shall probably find that other cases resemble that before us. That is to say, the ' dreamer ' (a synonym for ' medicine-man ') does not assert that he remembers a dream which he had in his mother's womb, but only that in his ' medicine-dream ' as a youth, he dreamt of being in his mother's womb. He himself appeals to the familiar experience of a ' dream within a dream ', which he describes as something analogous. In the ' medicine-dream ' the spirit reminds him of a ' dream-like experience ' which he had previously had in his mother's womb—in fact, of a *déja vu*.

The real associations to the dream are illuminating here. It came into his mind that the spirit's voice sounded just like that of Cipae Kwavkiu (Insect carrying). This was the name of a distant relative and good friend of his, *who had a great many children*. Since the spirit in the dream of ' Shouting Cowboy ' was identical with Kokomat, i.e. with God Father, we may no doubt at once put the father in the place of the spirit in the latent dream-content. The point then is that the father does something with his ' left hand '. The left hand is bathed in sweat and presses the patient's body. In the dream the father does something from which ' life ' proceeds, the withered trees grow green and the mountain rises up. That the patient has been split off from the physician indicates some sort of narcissistic pleasurable activity connected with the whole scene, whilst the allusion to an illness which commonly afflicts women probably refers to a primary form of the latent dream-formula, in which he was identified with a woman.

As children, Matkwas-humar said, they had a game which he learnt from his paternal grandfather. The children used to kill a rat and then make a mound of earth. They held the rat by the tail and dragged it round this heap and sang : ' Rat chasing after it '. Then they laid the rat on the heap and all struck the earth with their hands, saying : ' Your house is on fire '. After that they expected that the rat would come to life again, but it never did. As a child he also used to touch any dead body he saw, and he had the phantasy that it would

come to life again. He then told me that his grandfather who taught him the rat-game was a great ' spirit-dreamer ', i.e. he knew how to force the spirits to appear.

The procedure for this was also recounted to me by another shaman, called Use Kochmal (' White Mud ') and my description is based on the accounts of these two men.

It was the custom, especially before going to war, to call up the spirits, in order to find out whether someone was not plotting against the chief's life by magical means. A little house was built and four piles of earth heaped up in front of the door. The medicine-man then lay down on his back, in such a way that his feet were in the hut and his head outside. He lay down in order to dream and to see the future in his dream. But first he smoked a pipe. When he had finished, he began to sing, or rather to groan, for at that moment the four lots of earth were thrust into his mouth. But in his mouth the earth turned to water and an irresistible force drew him into the hut. Now he was in the hut of the spirits : he was dead. Now the crowd waiting outside heard the voices of the spirits. The first said : ' I am sorry for this child. Why have they thrust earth into his mouth ? I am weary ! ' and thereupon this spirit vanished. Then a mountain came in the form of a person. Like a storm, he rushed into the hut and was invited to sit down and rest from the fatigue of the journey. He accepted the invitation and gave the desired information. He said the enemy were not thinking at all of the chief : they were making merry and dancing. There was no question of any danger. This spirit was called : ' Evi-kulal ' (' the mountain of the spreading root '). Then other mountains came—in the typical North American way there had to be four, corresponding to the four quarters of the globe—and all brought much the same tidings. My informant at first omitted one of these mountains and added it afterwards. It was called Kujiuuen (where the giant, Kujiuu, was hanged). Then there came a pair, the insect Hukenyawi (a little, grey insect) copulating with the fly, Xuau. The insect was male and the fly female, and the latter wished to speak, but could not do so properly because the insect's penis was in her mouth. The dreamer was now pulled out of the hut by Coyote, grasped by the hips and shaken, so that the earth fell out of his mouth. Thereupon he came to life again.

If now we find the idea of revival, both in the dream and in the medicine-man's practice, linked up with the grandfather's story, we may easily discover the latent content of this story. In the dream

there is a vision of man and wife in the act of coitus. Now, we can understand why the first shaman began with a vision of the creation of man and woman and then saw the cure with the left hand : both these are derivatives of the primal scene. The trees which at first were withered and then came to life, the mountain which rose up, and even the patient who rises up—all these represent the miracle of erection : the erection of the father's penis. Has not the patient been transformed from the ' shadow ' of the spirit into a person ? But we can determine the unconscious content of the scene even more precisely. When the spirits are being conjured up, the dreamer's mouth is filled with four lots of earth. These obviously correspond to the four mountains, i.e. to the four quarters of the globe. But now, as a counterpart to the mountain-spirits, we get the insect, which is having coitus with the female by her mouth—and thus represents the father in the primal scene. The child therefore must have phantasied himself in his mother's place in that scene, and the act of coitus is, by displacement upwards, conceived of orally. We must remember that in the libidinal economy of the medicine-man the oral zone, used in sucking out the disease, plays an important part.

Since ' White Mud ' was also a medicine-man, let us compare his dream with those of the others. As a child, a man appeared to him in a number of dreams and with his foot touched his (White Mud's) leg. Every time he woke up but saw no one. Four nights later the vision came again, but, when the dreamer woke and looked up, he saw a bird with outspread wings. He seated himself on the bird's back and, with four strokes of its wings, they reached Avi-Kwame. Then he saw how the spirit healed people and heard him summon the wind and the clouds to enter into the patients through himself and to cure them. The spirit was called Ashe-uru (i.e. Buzzard-nighthawk). He appeared in human form as a man with a white, hooked nose, with a stone-ring in it. The dreamer's father wore a similar ring and, after telling me this, he was led to laugh in a most unfilial way at the thought of the old man's weakness and helplessness. In connection with the dream, however, he told me a long story of an old man who lived with his two daughters and received Coyote as a ' younger brother '. Coyote made a magic bird by his sorcery, and the old man shot at the bird but found himself lifted higher and higher into the air, till he reached the sky and could no longer find his way home. But Ashe (Buzzard), whose name reminds us strongly of the spirit in the dream, carried him back with four strokes of the wings and laid him on the ground behind

his own house. He was told that, whatever he saw, he must keep his eyes shut and lie on his face. Thereupon he saw Coyote raping and ill-treating his two daughters. In his rage he disregarded the command and opened his eyes so as to hasten to their assistance. Thereupon he found himself in the sky again, unable to help them in their extremity.

This folk-tale *motif* is a very favourite one with the Yuma. Coyote, to whom all evil is attributed, is always the perpetrator of the rape, and the true hero of the story, who is always older than Coyote, appears from the sky as rescuer. This is a reversal of the primal situation, for the rôle of passive spectator is assigned to the father. The fact that the evil is projected on to Coyote and that the father-figure does in the end inflict punishment on him [6] makes it possible for the super-ego to accept a reversal of the rôles which actually corresponds to the demands of instinctual desires. In this connection, the prohibition is an interesting part of the story. The spectator (child) is promised that, if he is good now and shuts his eyes, he will later on take his father's place. But if he opens his eyes and looks, he immediately finds himself back in another world and sees nothing i.e. repression comes into play. It is Ashe (Buzzard) who forbids him to open his eyes. By virtue of his name and his bird-form Ashe is identical with the dream-spirit, Ashe uru,[7] whose nose-ring reminds the dreamer of his father. Here, then, we see the direction in which the transforming forces of the super-ego are tending. Instead of watching the coitus, the dreamer is rather to fly with his father and on him and to summon the wind which passes from the father (spirit) into the medicine-man and from him into the sick person. We have here a homosexual sublimation, just as in the case of Matkwas humar, whose associations to the patient in the dream pointed to a woman, while in the actual text the patient was the spirit's ' double '.

In Matkwas humar's dream there is however interpolated a second, in which the spirit takes him from his mother's womb and he is shown how the withered trees come to life again. Then he once more penetrates into his mother's womb (the ' house '), from the furthest corner of which (i.e. in a position of safety) he can observe ' the front of the skirt ', i.e. her vagina. Use Kochmal also had a dream which

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[6] At last the old man kept his eyes shut for four days, and was thus able to stay where he was ; then he chased Coyote away.

[7] Uru (nighthawk) is the typical messenger of the gods ; cf. the previous dream.

indicated that the phantasy of the mother's womb had to be added to the observation of the primal scene to complete the equipment of the shaman.

As a young lad, Use Kochmal dreamt of the mountain, Sakupaj. In the middle the road went westwards to the mountain and there was a glass-house there and in it an old man. He said: 'Turn round to your left!' The dreamer did so and saw the mountain Sakupaj. As he climbed up the mountain he saw the felled trunk of a tree and beside it two drumsticks. With these he beat upon the tree-trunk, and the voice of a woman sounded from the tree. 'A mighty wind is coming—hurry, go back into the glass-house', she said. He did this and sat there with the old man. Then there came a sandstorm and he could see nothing. The old man said: 'Now go out!' Thereupon the storm ceased to rage and he came out and could see the sky and the landscape.

The woman's voice reminded him of my wife's, and the man was like Matkwas humar, his father's brother. In association to the glass-house he said that there were really two mountains called Sakupaj, one male and the other female, and between the two there was a lake which looked like a glass-house. Sakupaj was the second most important mythical mountain, Evi Kumii being the first, and singers, in particular, dreamt of Sakupaj. He pointed to a lamp in the room to explain the shape of the glass-house, and this lamp did actually correspond in outline to the uterus. Between the male and the female mountain, between father and mother, he was happily lodged in his mother's womb. When the sandstorm came, he saw nothing—he was not to look when his father's penis penetrated into his mother's body. In fact, when witnessing the primal scene, the child desires to be in his mother's womb as a doubly favourable position libidinally, for, first, it means entering his mother's body (positive Œdipus complex) and, secondly, he can there await the coming of his father's penis (negative Œdipus complex). In this dream the two parents are transferred to two different wombs, so that father and son might be peacefully together in one womb. In the rite of conjuring up the spirits there is also a striking analogy to the intra-uterine situation in which the father's penis presses into the mother's body: there we have a man in a hut with heaps of earth (mountains) forced into his mouth. The phantasy, moreover, is that of coitus *per os*; that is to say, the boy identifies his own mouth with the mother's vagina. When Use Kochmal was telling me about this episode he 'accidentally' forgot

to mention the mountain of the giant, Kujiuu, and added it later. We will do the same thing and give an abbreviated version of the legend of this giant here.

There was an old giantess, named Akoj Mëtshtëxëxëthuuk ('Old woman lifting up'), because she had a gigantic basket into which she used to put people and then carry them home with her. She lived with her grandson, who was still in his cradle but soon became strong enough to kill beasts. One day, the boy went farther away than usual and saw the giant, Kujiuu, who was just going to drink from a spring. His gigantic penis was hanging down into the water and the boy said to him: 'Go away! I want to wash my hands'. 'What kind of little boy are you and how do you know me?' asked the giant in his deep voice. The boy ran for his bow and arrow, but the arrows all rebounded from the giant's penis. The giant then took the boy home with him and told his wives to cook him. But he introduced some knives by magic into Kujiuu's porridge and killed him. The boy pulled the giant's skin over his own head and danced round the corpse with the wives of the giant, who were now his own. As he returned home, he saw his grandmother being raped by Coyote. Later there followed a fight with the giant Mëthar Kwackwat ('Striking with the penis'), who killed people with his gigantic penis. The boy turned himself into a stone, so that the giant killed himself by striking his penis on it.

In this legend we have the same basic elements as before, but almost without disguise. The situation is always the same. The boy in the mother's womb (glass-house, house, spring, the giant's pot) fights with the giant's penis (hurricane, etc.). After the death of the primal father the son identifies himself with him (puts on his skin) and takes possession of his wives.

The question now is: does the shaman really dream in his mother's womb? That is to say, can we actually assume that the Œdipus complex has its origin *in utero* and that the child in this truly 'dark' primal period is at enmity with his father's penis and wants to kill it? The myth before us presents quite undisguisedly the situation of the primal scene, and Matkwas humar's dream had in it the dream of the mother's womb, though only as an interpolation in the dream of healing. Probably the boy's primary impulse on witnessing the primal scene is simply to castrate his giant-father and possess his mother. Then comes the first covering layer: the wish to get right inside the mother; and as a development of this there follows the projection

backwards of the whole Œdipus complex into the intra-uterine situation. The conflict would then seem remote, something belonging to a different world. It appears as a dream within a dream, which is of course meant to convey unreality.[8]

It is very difficult to obtain unambiguous data on the question whether, as psychologists, we can or cannot assume the existence of intra-uterine impressions. But there is one observation which I should like to mention. In studying a number of different cultures in succession one repeatedly has occasion to ask definite questions, if conversation makes no headway or if one desires explanations on a particular point. One such question is: 'What things are forbidden to you?' One may then observe that each region has its *governing taboos*, which, if our theory of the development and structure of cultures is correct, must naturally correspond to the *governing symptoms* of the race. In analysing the culture of the Central Australians I came to the conclusion that the defence-mechanisms organized as their 'culture' were directed against a genital libidinal trend which had its starting-point in the mother. The boy lies underneath his mother, and the ensuing erection mobilizes the castration-anxiety which is also determined by the primal scene. The taboos in force take a corresponding shape. It is forbidden to eat *inarlinga* (echidna), because this would cause a boy's penis to swell excessively—and the *inarlinga* ancestor in primordial times, when performing the act of circumcision, cut off the boy's whole penis. Then, in Duau, we assumed that the custom by which the father takes the children's genitals into his mouth, liberates strong castration-anxiety and that the matrilineal culture of that people has taken form as a mode of repression of the anxiety associated with the 'devouring' father.[9] In point of fact the prohibition which forbids the inhabitants of any village to eat food from another where their fathers' blood has been shed (that is, to eat the father) is more stringent than any other, the penalty feared being the greatly dreaded *rara* (blood) disease. The first group of prohibitions which suggests itself to the Yuma Indian is that connected with pregnant women and designed to ward off harmful influences from the fœtus. The father and mother must not kindle their fire

[8] We will not attempt to answer the question whether we are not dealing here with a denial of reality, i.e. at bottom with actual memory-traces.

[9] A fuller justification of this view will follow in later studies.

with hollow wood, for it might somehow happen that something was pressed into the cavity and so killed the child in the mother's womb. Perhaps, then, these taboos have a definite ontogenetic origin, in the father's wish to kill the child in the womb with his penis. Accordingly, in the situation of the primal scene the child sees the father's death-dealing penis, and possibly for the unconscious this acts as a repetition of the intra-uterine trauma. If so, we could at least understand how it is that every eminent shaman enters on his career while still in the womb. This would simply mean that the earliest strata of the Œdipus constellation already present themselves in the intra-uterine situation. The boy reacts to his impression of the death-dealing penis in accordance with the positive Œdipus complex, by the wish to castrate the father, to slay the penis ; and in terms of the negative Œdipus attitude, by a pleasurable dread of being himself ' killed ' by the father's penis (in coitus), i.e. of taking his mother's place. Thus the formation of the super-ego begins with the formula : ' You must not look (for, if you do, you will want to kill your father and therefore you will be killed by him) '. But the formation of the super-ego is doubly determined, both negatively and positively. The formula : ' You must not look ' accordingly has another clause : ' Look, so that you may be able to do as your father does '. And it is just this which constitutes the dream of the future shaman ; he watches how the spirit (father) does something, in order to be able to copy him later. All *capacity*-dreams are of this nature. By the term ' capacity-dream ' I mean those dreams of the Yuma which indicate a particular sublimation-tendency, i.e. which give to the dreamer the capacity to become a fine horseman, hunter, warrior, etc. Every sublimation implies after all a certain overcoming (even though it be by roundabout ways) of the prohibitions of the super-ego. This truth is pointed to in a remark of Use Kochmal's. He said to me that when a child is specially lively, intelligent and a ready talker, people say : ' He has watched his parents' coitus '. The Yuma Indians are in truth a strongly inhibited people. They are so taciturn and unapproachable that the Americans of the little border town of Yuma call their tribe the Sphinx of the Indians. The custom of giving their children moral sermons is universal amongst them. It was quite striking when one of them, who had not yet properly understood my questions, just said, in reply to my request to tell me something about his life or his childhood : ' I have always tried to do right and I was brought up so '. For a ' primitive ' people this development of the super-ego is excessively strong and is reflected

in the powerful inhibitions to which the Yuma and, probably, other North American Indians are subject. For them, therefore, the most important problem in the successful development of character is how to overcome inhibition (to look on at parental coitus).

The seer, the dreamer or shaman is certainly the group-ideal and the ruling personality of the tribe. He has looked and is now himself doing what he saw. At the same time in the dream-text the life-giving element is strongly emphasized: the father's penis is indeed that which confers life, and the spirit's voice reminded the dreamer of a friend who was notable for a large number of children. If we view the patient, in accordance with the text of the dream, as a part of the spirit (his shadow), i.e. as the father's penis, the medicine-man's powers of pressing, rubbing and sucking would represent in a sublimated form onanism and fellatio. If, however, we take account of the dreamer's associations, the patient is the mother and the shaman imitates with his left hand his father's pleasurable occupation with her body.

I assume, then, that we can construct an ontogenetic scheme of the development of civilization. Civilization in general is evolved from the process of defence against the primal instinctual demands and takes the shape of a specific culture as a mode of defence against a typical infantile trauma. The universal fundamental psychic material consists of the Œdipus complex and castration-anxiety. The transition to the various specific traumata is supplied by the child's observation of the primal scene. In itself this is indeed an experience common to all mankind, but it may already be regarded as a more or less specific trauma according to the varying behaviour of the parents. We may equally view as traumata either an excessively pleasurable situation, or a deprivation or frustration, or a too aggressive attitude on the parents' part. I must emphasize, however, that, as far as my experience goes, the determining factor in all the three cases we have considered is an overstrong libidinal tendency that is then warded off by the ego, with the help of the super-ego which is already in existence. In the first case, the boy lying beneath the mother comes in fact very near to translating the Œdipus-wish into reality. But with this, as with the primal scene, there is associated the danger of castration by the father (super-ego), and the repression of that situation has resulted in a specific form of culture. In the second case we have direct stimulation of the genital zone by the father. But just because the stimulus proceeds from him (father, super-ego), it is charged with a directly

aggressive significance—it is, in fact, a direct threat of castration. In the third case it is not very clear at first sight in what sense we can speak of a traumatic effect, but we can arrive at some understanding of how this happens by indirect inference from the facts. The Australians and Papuans told me that they practised coitus only when the children were asleep; the Yuma, on the other hand, said that they had intercourse in the presence of their children, and that they left off doing so only when a child became able to talk, for fear that he would tell strangers what they did. Thus quite little children must often share in this situation, with its emotional charge of pleasure and anxiety, and their destinies are determined by the way in which it is sublimated. Accordingly, we see that in every case the governing trauma from which the culture takes its birth is a situation originally pleasurable. Specific forms of culture must, of course, develop *after* the period in which the super-ego is evolved, for it is only with the super-ego that human beings properly so-called begin. We may say, then, that every culture takes its specific colour from a compromise arrived at between the super-ego, as a more or less constant unity, on the one side, and the governing trauma on the other. This compromise is embodied in a group-ideal. The strongest impression which the Australian native retains from his childhood is his love for the 'phallic' mother: accordingly, a society develops whose group-ideal is a father endowed with a vagina (= the chief with a subincised penis; penis-*churunga* covered with concentric circles symbolizing the vagina). The group-ideal of Papuan society is the mother's brother (= mother + father), who is portioned out and eaten up at the feast; behind his figure, however, lurks the devouring father. Amongst the Yuma the child is allowed to enjoy his parents' coitus. As a result of a systematic building up of the super-ego, this memory is powerfully repressed and, as group-ideal, there appears the shaman who dares to dream of the primal scene and to reproduce his dream in real life. But when a choice of profession becomes possible, when, that is to say, different group-ideals come to exist side by side in a community, we have passed beyond the boundaries of 'primitive' society, even in the widest sense of the term.

It might perhaps be possible to take this theory of civilization as a basis for an attempt to write a new psychological history of the world. We might thus give a psychological interpretation of the ancient Hebrew civilization of a certain epoch, based on the figure of the prophet regarded as a group-ideal. Similarly Egypt as the country of

Divine Kings and Athens as the city of popular leaders would become intelligible to us. An essay of this sort seems most tempting, and yet I have to set a large question-mark against it. Only when one has oneself collected material of this sort does one realize the inadequacy of ethnographical research not directed by our own standpoint. And how much more so history! If we cannot absolutely rely on Spencer and Gillen, how much worse are we off with Thucydides or the Bible! We shall assuredly find nothing about infantile traumata in those sources.

Possibly, however, this theory of civilization will find no favour at all with analysts whose point of view is predominantly clinical. How is it that the natives of Australia and Papua happen to suffer from precisely these traumata? All we can do in reply is to refer our questioner to the obscure constitutional factor and to quote the familiar words of Professor Freud. The destinies of peoples, like those of individuals, are conditioned by heredity and experience—*δαίμων καί τύχη*. And what of 'constitution' itself? Perhaps in its turn it has been acquired through earlier traumata.

It was only in the course of my actual field-work that I came to realize how little we know at all. Thus it seems to me that attempts to derive specific types of culture from the past vicissitudes of different peoples are merely idle speculations, open to anyone in the study but quite incapable of being weighed scientifically. This statement does not apply to the hypothesis of the primal horde, which indeed I believe to be the only theory about the primordial epoch of mankind which we can take seriously. At some future date I shall try to project my notion of a governing trauma back also into this most remote hypothetical past and thus to bring it into harmony with the hypothesis of the primal horde. But my statement does apply to attempts to deduce conclusions about types of culture from geological facts. Of the facts themselves we know little; of their psychological effects nothing at all.

The number of cultures of which we have not merely ethnographical but also analytic ethnological knowledge must be greatly increased before we can venture to approach the obscure question of the psychic effect of the environment, or of a change in this. The same applies to the interactions of different groups of peoples or cultures; at the present time indeed we have no (psychological) knowledge yet of any two cultures which are or have been in contact with one another. Let us confine ourselves to problems which do not exceed our powers, and then, in time, our horizon may extend to those other questions also.

X

THE NATIONAL CHARACTER OF THE SOMALI

I

Infibulation

The Hamitic region of North-East Africa has hitherto been quite remote from my field of ethnological research, but one of my reasons, among others, for choosing the Somali as the first people to study on my journey lay in the peculiar operation of infibulation practised by them.

This article embodies such results as I gathered during my short stay amongst the Somali. In January, 1928, there was in Budapest a group of these people, said to come from Dire Daua, but in reality belonging to various tribes and regions. Hagenbeck had brought them straight from their native country and I worked amongst them for a month. In January, 1929, on my way to Australia, I continued my investigations at Aden and Djibouti and spent another month over them. Let me now state what I learnt about infibulation.

' When a man on his wedding-night is afraid to " open " his bride, he calls his female relatives and asks them to " make her a woman ". Men of resolution, however, do it themselves, using their finger-nail '.

' When a girl is circumcised (in her seventh year) part of the clitoris and the labia are cut away. Then they take thorns as a needle and hairs from their horses' tails for thread and sew the whole thing up with three thorns. When the husband, on the wedding-night, " opens " the woman, she bleeds twice over : once when he cuts open the suture with his knife and again when his penis pierces the hymen ' (Aden Hassan, sixty years old, of the tribe of Habr Aual).

' Every girl must be circumcised. A Midgan [1] woman comes with a sharp knife and scrapes off the skin. Then she joins the " lips ", binds the legs together and pours " *mera* " resin over the wound. For seven days the girl stays with her legs bound together and is not allowed to take any liquid, because urination would prevent the wound from healing. All she has is dry bread and butter (*ghee*—melted butter). When I saw the Midgan woman coming, I was terrified. After seven days my legs were set free and I could walk. You can only move very slowly, for fear of falling. On the wedding-night the Midgan woman opens the place again. Then the man

[1] The Midgans are the pariah caste of hunters.

comes and immediately has intercourse with the bride. It hurts dreadfully. Some women leave their husbands because of the pain ' (Ewado, thirty years old, of the tribe of Habr Toljaala).

' The vagina is sewn up by a Midgan woman. It is a Midgan too, but a man, who circumcises boys between the age of three to eight. After the sewing-up there is only a tiny hole—so big (indicating it with my pencil). The bridegroom has to open the vagina on the wedding-night, but it cannot be done either with his finger or his penis : he has to use a knife. The flesh is slit with a knife. If we had not this custom, we should never know what we were getting, for our girls run about quite freely and do as they like. But sometimes the husband is afraid and cannot slit the flesh. Then a Midgan woman is summoned and paid to do this. But it is a great disgrace when the man has to summon her ; it is a confession of impotence. He is a faint-hearted creature. If the girl does not want to shame her man, they often agree to say nothing. Then they live together for months, until he summons up courage to cut open the vagina. But it is then that the worst part comes. He has to have coitus with the woman at once, bleeding as she is, and must go on with this for eight days, otherwise the wound heals again and the operation would have to be repeated. This coitus, which causes the woman terrible pain, has to be forced on her and sometimes she resists for a whole night. She cries so that her eyes shed not only tears but blood. One has to be stout-hearted to carry it through '. (Ali Hersi, Habr Aual.)

It seems, then, that the operation in the first place serves to double the hymen. ' The woman bleeds twice : once, when the husband cuts through the suture with a knife, and again, when he pierces the hymen with his penis '.

What significance the virgin as a sexual object has for the man, is shown in the story of Malak Kaded (i.e. the man who was always doing silly things).

Malak Kaded wanted to know whether men or women had greater endurance, that is to say, endurance in abstinence. So he had twelve lads and twelve girls shut up in separate rooms, where they had everything they wanted except the opposite sex. After six months, the rooms were opened. The lads were all right, but eleven of the girls were dead and the remaining one was only half alive. When she was asked how she was able to keep alive, she replied that she had a comb of her brother's with her, and from time to time she smelt it, so as at least to get the smell of a man. Asked which of the girls had held out

longest, she pointed to one of them. Malak Kaded ' opened ' this girl, in order to examine her uterus. He found in it an enormous worm. This worm could not be killed with fire or stones. At length he had coitus with a woman and poured the semen on to the dead girl, whereupon the worm immediately died. Then he killed a female camel and cut its hump into little pieces. One of these he placed in the vagina of a woman who had already had three children. The next day, the piece of flesh was perfectly black. He repeated the experiment with a woman who had two children, and the piece of flesh was half black and half white. In the case of a virgin it remained as white as snow. Therefore men ought to marry only virgins, for a woman who has already had several children ' breaks a man's bones in pieces '. The Somali follow this advice.

This account was given me by Aden Hassan and is the second legend which he told me. The first was the story of the queen who had all boys castrated, and after this legend he told me his own anxiety-dreams. Is it not natural to suppose that the doubly-stressed virginity of the bride is equivalent to a twofold denial of the mother—the queen who bears children and castrates boys !

The second most important feature of the operation is to obtain a perfectly smooth surface. The clitoris is cut off, not partly (as my informant said), but altogether, to make a flat surface ; the vaginal opening is entirely sewn up and the hair on the *mons veneris* is shaved away. Now, what do the vagina and the clitoris mean for the Ucs of the Somali ? Their legends will tell us.

It is said that once the women held a council together. ' This thing of ours—the vagina—is a very bad thing ', they all agreed. And all of them were ready straightaway to cut it off with their knives. But one woman said : ' It is no use cutting it, for what can we do about the part inside ? ' And so they gave up the idea.

The vagina *is* already a wound, and, in being willing to make another wound there, the women merely indicate the same thing. In this wound the man's ' flesh ' rots (cf. the legend of Malak Kaded) ; therefore the wound must disappear, in order that the anxiety may be cancelled somehow. But this anxiety is ambisexually determined. In the wound lies the worm, the penis, which dies when sprinkled with (i.e. sprinkling) semen, that is to say, returns from the erect to the normal condition. But the woman's penis is the clitoris, which is cut off in preparation for normal sexual life.

This attitude on the man's part is demonstrated by the following

story. A man went with his wife to a strange village. As no one would take them in, they spent the night in the mosque. About midnight, they both wanted to urinate, but the temple door was locked. Then the man stood in front of the window and directed his urine far out in a wide curve. The woman wanted to do the same, but she tried in vain to stretch her vagina: all the urine flowed back inside the temple. Then the man cried: 'Why do you not piss right into the distance? May God punish the man who cut off your clitoris!'

This story shows that infibulation in this form really signifies to the man the destruction of the sexual object. After it is sewn up, the vagina disappears; after the clitoris is cut, the woman's penis is gone. Hence the strong traumatic element in the whole operation. The man forces coitus on the woman in an extremely painful form; he uses the penis and a knife. Before we ask, however, why he needs thus to destroy the sexual object, we must try to understand what the operation means to the woman. First of all, however, we must note that it is really a dramatically abridged repetition of biogenetic and ontogenetic development. For women have to give up their original erotogenicity based on the clitoris and advance to the vaginal type. They must also accept their 'defeat' (Ferenczi) and preserve the feminine-masochistic attitude. All this and also the biological 'innovation' of the hymen is represented in the operation. We might therefore suppose that it fosters the right attitude of women in sexual life. The meagre data which we have available were obtained from two 'analyses',[2] but unfortunately, because of unfavourable external conditions, each of these went on for a week only.

Ewado, a young prostitute, belonging to the pariah caste of the *tumal*,[3] told me that the night before she was circumcised she had the following dream.

'Many men came and wanted to have intercourse with me. They loved me very much and were always coming to me. This was in Aden. But they took me away to another country, where suddenly a fire blazed up. I burnt myself at it. All the four corners of the house were on fire. I rushed into the fire and began to run, with my clothes alight. I came into another house; there were many people there. They cut my clothes off my body. I was quite naked and I woke up'.

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[2] I use the term in accordance with the description given in my first article on technique in field-work (Chap. II.).

[3] The *tumal* are the smiths.

We found in analysis that the ' many people ', who also played so important a part in her life as a prostitute, signified her flight from her father (who lived in Aden), i.e. from the incestuous attitude. The burning wound about to be inflicted by the painful operation received a libidinal cathexis and was represented as the flame of love. According to the official native interpretation of this dream it betokened misfortune and a he-goat had to be sacrificed. Here was a significant supplement to the text of the dream : ' Get away from Aden—the " old fellow " is being sacrificed ! ' The following details of the second analysis may be given : In Fathumo, a divorced wife belonging to the tribe of the Dalbahanta, the positive Œdipus attitude early gave place to the negative, on account of her father's extraordinarily brutal treatment of her. She then identified her mother with the Midgan woman who performed circumcisions, and dreaded losing her ' penis ' on this side also. She has, in fact, in spite of the operation and of her marriage, retained her ' masculine ' attitude and was in her own mind the heroine of the fairy-tale about the most beautiful woman in the world, whose beauty came to her only after her ' monkey-skin ' (clitoris) had been cut away on her wedding-night.

It seems, then, that we can only say that the violent interference does not alter the original psychic attitude. In the first case, the defence-mechanism whereby the many were substituted for the one had been already prepared and was retained. In the second, the clitoris, in spite of being cut off, continued to be there psychically. It is true that we cannot say how things are with a normal, happy married woman—such a woman does not come and talk to the white unbeliever.

In order, now, to answer the question why among this people the men interfere so radically with the genital organs of their women, it is necessary to say something about their sexual life.

II

Coitus

The great question in the sexual life of the Somali seems to be : can the man satisfy the woman ? We must remember that they are a polygamous people and that the man is often much older than his wives.

A man had married two sisters. They complained : ' You cannot satisfy us, though we give you enough to eat. So we will give you something to stiffen up your penis '. They gave him a mixture of honey and the leaves of various plants. After his next coitus with the

first wife, the second asked: 'Was it any better?' 'Not so bad', said the other. The second sister gave him more of the medicine, and he did so well that she could not stand up again. He had injured her uterus, for his penis had become too large. Then the Midgan woman came and said that the woman must be left alone for fourteen days. Thereupon the first sister was glad and said to her husband: 'You must not go out by day or night. I will give you everything you need'. The man became weaker and weaker. He began to think how he could get rid of her. He told her to bend forward, and then he performed coitus on her from behind so violently that he broke the wall between the vagina and the anus. Both organs were injured and he divorced her.

This story (which, like the others that I quote, represents an actual occurrence from everyday life) gives the picture of the woman who is insatiable because she is unsatisfied. She is a real danger to the man. Aphrodisiacs seem to be in universal use with the Somali. In defence he uses his penis as a weapon without any sort of tender object-cathexis. But probably the converse is true: the woman is unsatisfied because the man merely does violence to her and does not love her.

A certain woman left her husband because he was incapable of an erection. She was quite distracted ('changed in her brain') for lack of satisfaction, and she went to a strange village. All the men wanted her. She chose twelve of them and had intercourse with all of them, but remained unsatisfied. Then she saw a camel-driver, crouching by the fire and warming himself. She had never seen such a gigantic penis as his. She tried intercourse with him, but still remained unsatisfied. 'Now', she said, 'let all the men come along'. She had coitus with twenty of them, and at last was satisfied. She was then normal again and was able to marry. She called the man whom she chose: 'Abdi Adwena' ('man with a penis like a camel').

A woman cried out in the public market-place: 'I will not stay with my husband. He cannot satisfy me—he has been castrated'. Her husband flew into a rage and leapt upon her, coitized her before all the people and then displayed his penis, still erect, to the astonished crowd: 'Is that a eunuch?' he asked.

I could quote many similar stories, but the most important points can be gathered from these examples. The woman is unsatisfied, often a nymphomaniac. The man suffers from castration-anxiety: the terms for one who is impotent and one who has been castrated are identical, and when anyone says: 'He is a eunuch', he really means:

' He is impotent '. Thus a little boy said to his father : ' Daddy, how is it that mother always gets the better of you ? You are stronger than a hyena, and she is afraid of hyenas '. So it seems to the consciousness of the people, in spite of the strongly sadistic attitude reflected in their manners and customs, that the woman is the stronger —the victorious party in coitus. Perhaps the form of coitus practised will throw further light on the matter. ' The man squats between the woman's legs, one of which he generally lifts on to his shoulders. In this way he is able to watch the movements of his penis '. (?) The actual form of coitus practised by the Somali is this : the woman lies on her side and the man squats between her legs and lifts one of them on to his shoulder. If he lifts both her legs on his shoulders and performs coitus squatting, he is following the Arab custom. If he performs coitus from behind, that means a punishment, a humiliation. The European way cannot satisfy a Somali woman, for ' when one does it sitting, it goes much further in '. Many men bend the woman's body over and thus penetrate it so deeply that she is injured and inflammation is set up. ' But, even if one does not penetrate very deeply ', said my informant, who had considerable experience in these matters, ' one only has to press very hard against the woman, and then she will think it is deep enough and will be satisfied.'

A remarkable point is the immense importance attached by the Somali to eating as a preparation for sexual enjoyment. ' The Arab women are no good. They give you a few dates or sweets, and you can't do much on that. The Somali women are quite different. They give you a proper meal, a lot of dried meat with melted butter and jugs of milk. And then they put sweet-smelling herbs in a pot and perfume their genitals with them. Unless they do this, we do not like having coitus. But when they use the herbs, we can perform the act several times '.

What can we gather from this description ? Perhaps it is premature to advance conjectures about these questions, for we really know very little about the connection between the psychosexual attitude and the posture adopted in coitus. However, let us venture on the attempt.

From the description of infibulation and of the wedding-night we may already infer that the Somali's attitude to women is strongly sadistic. In a certain proverbial tale there occurs the phrase : ' Swear that you have never whipped or beaten your wife ! ' This stands for something absurd, for every Somali husband beats his wife. They

have a special kind of whip (*jedlo*), which is used only for women and horses. On the wedding-night the bride appears with her friends, and the bridegroom with his. Each man has a whip in his hand, with which he strikes the girl who pleases him. He then orders her to strip. If she likes him too, he asks her father what her bride-price is. Now we know that the sadistic attitude is connected with the first appearance of the child's teeth and that its sexual goal is the devouring of the partner.[4] Here we find that the attitude of the man to the woman is in general highly sadistic and that a good meal (i.e. the devouring of the woman) is the most important preparation for sexual intercourse. Their mode of coitus seems in the physical sense to be more 'genital' than that adopted by Europeans. The Somali penetrates further and employs stronger physical stimuli—in fact, with a slight exaggeration one might say that the women are really satisfied only when they get an inflammation after coitus. In the customary European posture the upper parts of the two bodies are pressed together: it is, as it were, a representation of psychic object-cathexis. With the Somali this is not the case: the sole aim is to penetrate as far as possible. The woman is nothing but a sexual organ and the penis is a weapon. *The psychosexual attitude of the Somali men is thus phallic-sadistic with an exaggerated cathexis of their own organ.*

III

Sadism, Masochism and Anal Erotism

One day my informant told me the following story: An *ugaz* (chief) was madly in love with his wife. He neglected his subjects, gave up dispensing justice, and, instead, was always with her. This displeased his vizier, who warned the chief that things could not go on so. Ugaz admitted it and to his wife's astonishment he would now leave her early in the morning in order to hold a tribunal. She discovered that this change in his behaviour was the result of the vizier's advice and began to plan revenge. She persuaded her husband to visit certain remote districts in his kingdom and to make her his regent in his absence. Armed with this power, she summoned the vizier and told him that she was in love with him. He would not hear of such a thing, for he did not want to put his lord to shame. But she threw herself on his breasts and sucked at his lips. 'Then he became a

[4] J. H. W. van Ophuijsen: 'The Sexual Aim of Sadism as manifested in Acts of Violence'. This Journal, Vol. X, 1929.

changed man—crazy'. She ordered him to go on all fours, as she wanted to ride on his back. She got on and he had to go as she forced him by whipping him—a step for every blow, 'tak-tak'. He called out: 'That's enough', whereupon the husband came out from his hiding-place. The rest of the story does not concern us here, but I must mention that the man who told it to me obviously entered into and enjoyed the masochistic situation. I must also say that there were two anxiety-dreams which he regarded as his 'life-dreams'.[5] I asked him whether such things happened in real life and he said they did and quoted the legend of Queen Arranello who castrated the boys. Then he produced a second story, the point of which lay in the implacability, coldness and infidelity of women.

Now my second informant, Dsama Hassan, was a man vastly experienced in sexual matters. For his wife was a procuress and he himself was the hero of many adventures. He told me all he knew about sexual peculiarities, but he had nothing to say about a sadistic or masochistic perversion. I believe, therefore, in accord with the view of other observers, that we may assume that no masochistic perversion exists amongst the Somali, or, to put it more guardedly, that their destructive instinct much more rarely becomes defused as an independent perversion than is the case in Europe.[6]

We often detect a sadistic note in Somali stories, but I have no record of any sadistic ceremonial or perversion. If we take into account the total attitude which I have already described, we can readily understand that in a society in which the man cuts the woman open on their wedding-night, performs coitus while she is bleeding and in frantic pain, always has a whip at hand, binds her hand and foot, and so forth, sadism cannot develop into a special perversion, because it is simply the normal condition.

We know that sado-masochism and anal erotism tend to be combined as a form of pregenital organization in which erotism is interwoven with the death-instincts. With reference to the anal instincts I can offer the following material. After he had worked with me for two or three days, I said to old Aden Hassan that he must tell me how much a day he was going to ask. He said he would like to think it

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[5] V. infra.

[6] Cf. Malinowski: *The Sexual Life of Savages in North-Western Melanesia*, London, 1929, p. 400.

over till the afternoon. ' Very well ', I said, ' now go on telling me things '. He then told me the following story :—

A certain Ugaz had a court-jester, on whom he wanted to play a practical joke. So he ordered four men to go very early in the morning and defecate on the jester's bed. ' All right ', said the jester, ' but did he tell you to do anything else ? ' They said ' No ', whereupon he took a heavy cudgel and said : ' Go on, then, but if any of you passes urine also on my bed, I will break his skull '. The same afternoon, when we were again discussing his remuneration, the man told me a second story, about a king who tried to convince his fool that the people at court could lay eggs.

Evidently in these stories about the king's men who were to defecate on the jester's bed or were said to lay eggs, the king signified myself, who was to pay the story-teller seven rupees a day. Once more we find money and eggs representing excrement.

The following dream was related by a young lad of the Eyssa tribe :

He was at home and, at the entrance to the village, a girl to whom he was engaged was waiting for him. He had on very fine, clean clothes, but, just as he saw her, he had a motion and all his fine clothes were filled with excrement. The girl ran back to her father, terrified, and said : ' I met my bridegroom, but he must be mad, for he defecated all over his clothes '.

' I was just going to cleanse myself when her father came. When I saw him, I began to run as fast as I could, but he caught me and took me to the river to wash me. But the river was full of excrement and fæces kept coming from my anus. At last her father found a spring and washed me there. I began to play with the girl again, but suddenly she cried out : " My father is coming ", and I woke up in a tremendous fright.'

In connection with this dream the boy told me three fairy-tales. The first described how a cow was miraculously impregnated by a man who then shot his own daughter, a cow with a girl's face. The next was about a man who caught a gazelle and let it go because it was pregnant. The third was about a man whose camels were all pregnant at the same time and who himself swallowed a gazelle so that the creature cried out inside him.

It is clear that these folk-tales constitute a derisive commentary on the latent dream-thought. Can a beast conceive by a man ? Can a pregnant gazelle speak ? Can all the camels become pregnant simultaneously ? Above all, can a man be made pregnant, so that a

living creature makes a noise inside him ? That is, can a boy conceive by his father and bear him another child ? The cleansing-scene is obviously an allusion to the infantile sources of the dream : the child thinks he is being washed (probably by his mother) as a punishment for having tried to take her place with his father. It is therefore clear that the general infantile elements of the anal instinct-constellation are present. I may add that, in one analysis, the subject (a little girl) looked upon coitus as defecation and urination. If one observes the Somali in a purely external way, one is at once struck by their relatively high standard of bodily cleanliness. Many Europeans prefer them as servants on this account, as against the much more trustworthy Arabs. In money matters we may say that they are exceptionally ' dirty ' and greedy, and their extraordinary pig-headedness is shown in their incessant quarrels and brawls.

They are, then, a people whose anal erotism is repressed, but whose character is markedly anal. Coitus *a tergo* is held to dishonour the woman and they flatly deny the practice of coitus *per anum* which they perform with prostitutes whose vaginas are sewn up. As in Europe, anal matters and the world of demons are closely allied. ' *Derderin* ' is a person possessed by a devil. He cries out, attacks people and runs about naked, until the Mullah heals him and drives out the devil. ' Devils live on dung-hills.' Anyone who is uncleanly is beaten by the devil. He does not know what he is doing, and only the mullah can heal him. Such people cry out : ' Someone is killing me, save me ! Don't you see him standing by me ? '

' Mad people wash themselves in their own urine.'

' Komaju is a witch or a wizard. Such people are swine. She looks at a man or says something or does something with her hand, some gesture, and he collapses and is ill. Every week he has a similar attack and he talks of nothing but the witch. Then the mullah is summoned. He cures the man with verses from the Koran and with herbs from the woods. The herbs are put in a pot, a fire is kindled under it and the sick man is made to inhale the steam. He then behaves just as the witch did when she bewitched him ; he cries out and the witch comes out of him.' ' There are some people who seem to go mad twice every month, at the new and the full moon. They roll about the ground, foam at the mouth and give wild and unintelligible cries. Even the mullah can do nothing for them ; they are incurable.' These scanty data give us some idea of what happens. We may infer that these are cases of narcissistic neurosis (paranoia, dementia

præcox), major hysterical attack and epilepsy. It is noteworthy that epilepsy is distinguished from hysteria as incurable and not open to suggestion.

Just as there is no sadistic perversion, so we fail to find the obverse of perversion, the obsessional neurosis. For throughout North Africa the refuge against the devils of the dung-hill (anal erotism) is religion.

My chief informant, Aden Hassan, was very religious. In the three weeks in which we worked together, I was able to understand how this came to be so.

The first story he told me was that of the queen who had every man castrated, and then he went on to Malak Kaded and the dangerous mother. Soon after, he narrated his two ' life-dreams ' :

' I dreamt that the world had changed and I entered another world. There I stood quite naked before a high judge, who commanded the Ashkaris to throw me into chains and drag me along the ground. At the last moment I was shut into a furnace. In this furnace I was burnt right up. I woke up in terror and hastened to the mullah. He interpreted my dream thus: " The dream signifies the Day of Judgment, and I believe that you will burn in hell ". From that time I turned my back on the world and began to serve God.'

Before this he had another dream. He was lying on his back on a great stone, and some sort of machine lifted another stone of the same size into the air. ' A man threw the second stone down on top of me and I was ground to powder. Then someone came and lifted the upper stone off the one beneath. He collected the sand (which was myself) from the lower stone and made it into a ball. Then he stretched it out and moulded it into the form of a man. I had once more my shape, as before. A second man came and blew into my mouth and I was alive again. I was again placed on the stone and crushed to powder and again revived. And so it went on, over and over again, till I woke up '. The interpretation given by his Mahommedan colleague was ' You are a great sinner. God wishes to reveal to you your punishment. Turn your soul to God '.

' Still earlier, when I was very wild, I had the following dream : [1] ' A lion chased me and I fled and jumped into a well. I flung out my hands and in the middle there was a long branch, to which I clung. But the lion at the mouth of the well looked down at me. Deep in the water there was a snake. Two rats began to gnaw the branch and at the side there was a little honey. I thought : " You are a dead man,

[1] This is evidently influenced by Arab legends.

for the rats are gnawing the branch and you will fall into the snake's jaws. But meanwhile—enjoy the honey!" ' Now let us hear the mullah, from whose interpretation we may infer that he belongs to the school of Jung :

' The lion is an old sin which pursues you and the well is the grave. The snake in the water is the punishment after death, the branch stands for the duration of your life, the two rats are day and night, and the honey is remembrance. Turn to God and give up that which is evil '.

Unfortunately it did not prove possible to analyse the three dreams. For the mullah had interpreted everything : there was nothing more to be said ! But we will nevertheless try to guess their content as nearly as we can. The furnace, in the first dream, in which the dreamer was hidden away ' at the last moment ', corresponds, we may assume, to the well as a place of refuge in the third dream. His position between the two millstones also seems to mean the same thing. Now we know from the sexual symbolism of the Somali that a well signifies the female genitals. From the father, the lion, the gigantic judge (with a voice of thunder) of the first dream, the dreamer takes refuge in his mother's vagina, and whilst still in the dream he comes to the rational conclusion, ironically contrasted with his mortal dread : ' Meanwhile I will anyhow lick up some of the honey '. We may note that he had this dream after some special sexual excesses (' I was very wild '). The second dream represents the development of a human being. His body is assembled from the stone that is underneath and receives life from a man—no woman has anything to do with it. This reminds me of a case which I analysed. The dreams were admirably clear : the patient had witnessed his parents' intercourse. But he triumphantly produced another interpretation : the procreation which he saw in the dream was his own, in which he had shared in his father's semen. Of course, this explanation was simply an attempt to keep the really painful scene under repression. So, too, in old Aden's dream the picture of his own procreation is no doubt simply an evasion. The suspicious point about it is that Aden was between two stones, between two men. The upper and the lower stones which grind upon each other are no doubt the father and mother. The female element has been repressed, but has broken through the repression, for he said : ' There were two men, but they looked like women with breasts. They wore skirts like women, and yet they were not skirts but flesh growing out of their bodies '. It is clear that this mysterious piece of flesh on the lower part of the body can only refer to the parents'

genitals. The little child had watched the primal scene, but for this misdeed he selects an ambisexual, pleasurable punishment—he lies between the two parents, he flees from the lion into the well or from the judge into the furnace. The nature of the anxiety underlying these dreams is abundantly clear : they are the ' life-dreams ' of a man who chose as the first story to tell me the legend of the castrating queen.

Now, however, he has ceased to dream. The mullah has radically cured him of this. Before going to bed he has to take some water and wash his face, hands, arms and genitals three times. Before every prayer he pours water three times over his head, three times into his nostrils and gargles three times. Then he washes his feet three times. He then says two prayers, invokes all the angels, etc. Result : he has no more dreams. ' Only somebody who is dirty and who is frightened has bad dreams.' We see here how castration-anxiety (and the anal element, the dirty devils) is ' bound ' by the obsessional ceremonial of religion. Or, to put it another way, the Somali have no individual obsessional neuroses because they have as a substitute the collective form of religion.

IV

CHILDHOOD

The character and psychic attitude of adults are based on the experiences of childhood. Let me now give some description of the life of the children of this nomad people. ' They play all sorts of games ', said Ali Hersi. ' Sometimes they stick a piece of wood in a hole and hit it with another piece. The child whose wood travels farthest wins. Another game is that of " father and mother ". They build a little hut, like grown-up people, and make a great ceremony of it. Or the boys pretend to be lions, and they roar and frighten the girls.' A Habr Aual tribesman, aged forty, told me some recollections of his childhood : ' We used to dance with the girls, one girl between two boys. And then we would build a hut of earth and stones and marry the girls. We made small bows and arrows, too, and shot at the lizards. In his eighth year a boy leaves the village and only returns in his eleventh. We used to have rat-hunts and play *shabal*. In this game one boy takes another on his shoulders, and the second boy strikes a stone with a piece of wood, so as to make it hit another stone. If he hits it, the first boy has to go on carrying him, but if he misses, he carries the first boy. We used sometimes also to steal donkeys so as to have races, or we would ride on the goats.'

What applies to the boys, applies similarly to the girls. Their life consists essentially of ' practising ' in play the activities of the grown-ups. A woman of the tribe of Dalbahanta told me : ' We used to make dolls and clothes. We " cooked " and made houses out of sand. The girl-dolls became the wives of the boy-dolls, and we used stones for the money to buy the brides. Or we would dance with the boys, like the grown-ups '. ' We used to love each other very much or to quarrel with each other. With children it comes to the same thing '.

An Eyssa woman said : ' As a child, I used to play with the others. We used to race up the mountains, boys and girls together. If a girl is stronger than a boy, she hits him, if the boy is stronger, he rides on her '. Immediately after this she went on : ' I was married when I was eleven '—as if this were a comment on the sexual significance of riding.

This brings us to the sexual life of the children. I learnt from the analysis of the prostitute, Ewado, that the boys used to throw themselves on the little girls whose vaginas had been sewn up (at the age of seven), and rub their penises on the flat surface. Sometimes no doubt ejaculation followed, but, of course, there was no immission. We see then that at this period of his life the Somali has managed to circumvent his dread of the ' wound '. Through the sewing-up, the wound, the vagina, has in fact disappeared. It is not to be wondered at therefore that, as an adult, he frequently suffers from a typical weakness due to castration-anxiety—' he spills the milk beforehand,' i.e. *ejaculatio præcox* occurs. He trained himself in the habit in boyhood, and now would still rather ' spill the milk ' than enter into the vagina.

Ejaculatio præcox is connected also with the urethral evaluation of semen. There is a fairy-tale about a king's daughter who killed all her wooers in single combat (the Brünhilde type). At last there came one with his penis hanging far out who urinated in a circle round himself. She could not imitate him, and, of course, she became the bride of the man who thus defeated her. The Somali who told me this tale added that the boys have matches in urinating.

At this point I am impelled to quote a European patient's recollection of his childhood. Like the Somali, he suffered from *ejaculatio præcox*. He said that he and a friend each had a sister with the same Christian name. They all used to play together in a small room, and one game was that each boy threw himself on the other's sister and tried to perform coitus with her. But they were terrified of letting any fluid (they knew no difference between semen and urine) drop into the

vagina. They thought it would spurt out on to the ceiling and that the mother would notice the mark. Then there would be nothing left but to jump out of the window. The sister of the other boy was simply a substitute for his own sister, with whom he did, afterwards, actually have incestuous relations. Again, the sister, as the whole analysis showed, represented the mother. Hence the remarkable notion about the spurting up of the fluid—the ceiling symbolized the mother's vagina. Behind the anxiety was the wish that the mother should notice the marks of onanism on the coverlet, and then he would be able to jump into her. The fall of the boy signified the falling of the semen. To lose one's semen means death. It was better to identify oneself with the semen, so as not to have to lose it.

Besides those games which came under the heading of sport or hunting, I learnt of the following ones: ' father and mother ', which I have already mentioned, hide and seek, ' *habal maluli* ', ' *hoyeisi* ' [to call mothers], and finally, public onanism.

I will leave out ' hide and seek ' here and describe the three last games. With regard to the last, the Somali women used to call to the boys: ' *Ka'aso* ', i.e. ' erect your penis, masturbate '. Or sometimes the boys did this among themselves. In the game called ' *habal maluli* ' the children dug a trench. One of them had to lie down in it and the others covered it up with a cloth and strewed sand on it. Then they sat round the ' grave ' (*habal maluli* = living grave), and one of them began to speak, saying: ' Tell my father, who has long been dead, that it is well with me, and may God give him peace ! ' The child in the grave then made a ' comic ' reply, e.g. ' Your father is in hell ; I don't see him '. I asked my informant if it was always the father who was referred to. He said no, it could be any relation, male or female, who had died. But we may assume that it was certainly no mere coincidence that made him mention the father. He went on to say that only boys played this game. Obviously, it was an ironical representation of the mourning after the father's death: ' You can die and need not worry ; I shall manage to console myself '. This is the message which is given by the game.

The game of ' mothers ' is the right complement to that of ' *habal maluli* '. It is played as follows :—

Boys of five to six years old stand in a circle. Their mothers form an audience. The game is called: ' *hoyeisi* ', from ' *hoyo* ' = mother and ' *yeisi* ', to call or revile. Then the cursing match begins. The first ' poet ' says the verse: ' Copulate with your mother ! ' The

second replies: 'Stick bark in your mother's vagina!' (A punishment for adultery, etc.) Then another says: 'Your mother, Aila, Aila, daughter of Ainanshe, yesterday she was in the place of assembly, carrying a bridle, five lads had been with her' (that is to say, 'although she had already had intercourse with five lads, she still wanted to mount a horse and ride after men'). Then the next boy says: 'Your mother, Suban, has a vagina like a wash-basin. When she was only six, it was so big that she could not stand up!' Or: 'I know all about your mother's vagina. What it said was: 'By night don't touch me, for I shine like a light. By day don't touch me, for I should melt. Don't put me on the ground, or my mouth will get full of sand, and don't put me near the *Adad*-tree, or it will tear my lips'.

The mothers listen and each says to her son: 'Stand up to him! Don't let him beat you!'

If a woman wants a son, she prays to God: 'O God, give me my share in the boys' reviling'. For, if she has no son, no one will take the trouble to curse her.

It is clear that we have here an erotic game between the boys and their mothers. Each boy talks about the vagina of his playfellow's mother and listens while the other boy is occupied with the vagina of *his* mother. For the woman the boy stands for the possibility of the phantasied incest; the little boys are cursing her vagina.

Taken as a single whole these three games give a picture of the Œdipus complex. The boy enacts the father's death, reviles (with a displacement) the mother's vagina and is encouraged by a grown woman to erect his penis.

The Somali tell the following story:

There was once a woman who had a son who was dumb. She prayed to God: 'O God, make him speak'. Her prayer was answered, and the dumb boy began to speak. He said: 'Mother, I want to copulate with you!' Horrified, she prayed God to make him dumb again. And it happened so.

Repression (dumbness) is followed by a breaking-through of the repressed, and then once more by repression.

V

Summary

'There was once a little girl, who was playing with her dolls. She called out to her mother: 'Mother, I do love Mahommed'. The

mother answered: 'God give him bliss!' 'Not Mahommed the prophet', said the child, 'but Mahommed in our village'.

The same little girl was playing with her favourite doll. 'Haven't I told you to give up playing with that doll?' said her mother. 'But this doll isn't the camel-driver; it is a soldier,' said the child.

The doll only seems to be a doll: in reality, it is the hero the little girl longs for. And the child's Œdipus attitude is the prototype and the basis of the adult's life.

Let us now turn to another question. Somewhere and at some time, whether in Arabia or North-east Africa, there must have been a group of peoples (Hamitic or Semitic) who first extended the practice of circumcision to include girls and combined it with the sewing-up of the vagina. Taking the Somali as representatives of this group we are naturally led to ask what psychic motives decided them to do so.

A Somali in Budapest told me the following dream:—

'A Hungarian girl came to see me at night and wanted me to marry her. I took hold of her breast and hips and fondled her. She lifted up her dress and I saw her hairy vagina. I was seized by an appalling terror and cried out: 'There is a head in your vagina', and the fright woke me'.

The Somali do not in fact tolerate any hair on the sexual parts, either in men or women.

There only remains the question: whose is the head in the vagina? If we recall the story of the worm in the vagina and the notion that the clitoris is the woman's penis, we may justly conjecture that the reference is to a man's 'head'—in other words, his penis.

A figure which constantly appears in Somali fairy-tales is the wicked father-in-law, who demands an impossible sum, the suitor's whole fortune, as the price of his marvellously beautiful daughter. If we look at the dream of the young man who could not retain his excrement in his father-in-law's presence, we shall conjecture that, in the unconscious, the Somali bridegroom is castrated anally by his father-in-law. In the woman's vagina lies the dangerous worm, the penis regarded as an instrument of castration, and the wish nevertheless to find one there is repressed at such a cost of cathectic energy that the repression has to be somehow expressed in action. And so it is: the clitoris—the woman's 'penis'—is cut off.

When I asked my informants whether homosexuality was practised amongst the Somali, they denied it most emphatically, though there is a term for it in their language. Besides the curse: 'Copulate with

your mother ', there is another : ' Copulate with your father '. They told me that they had only learnt this from the Arabs within the last ten years. If you say it to any Habr Aual, nothing happens, they are already used to it. But if you said to an Eyssa : ' Copulate with your father ', he would spring at your throat and might even kill you. He would say : ' What do you mean by that ? My father hasn't got a vagina ! ' We thus see that with these tribes the negative Œdipus complex can only be repressed by a great expenditure of cathectic energy. They cut off the girl's ' penis ' as a kind of demonstration that they do not seek the penis. But in treating their girls like boys (i.e. in circumcising both), they betray a far-reaching intermingling of homo-sexual and hetero-sexual tendencies. The women, however, also contribute their share to this. The girls fight like the boys and the women perhaps even more than the men. A woman in the heat of the fray hurled at her antagonist the taunt : ' Come on ! Fight me if you are a woman ! ' The phrase describes the situation. We should say : ' If you are a man ! ' We should never think of co-ordinating fighting prowess with womanhood. At all events we have to note that the masculine tendency is very strongly developed in these women. But the best proof that we are not exaggerating the part played by castration anxiety in the unconscious of the Somali is to be found in their tribal myth.

' In olden times the Somali were ruled by an old woman, named Arranello. She had given strict orders that the testicles of every new-born boy were to be cut off. She ruled according to her pleasure, and none opposed her. Finally, the men who had no testicles found an old man who still had his. The queen bade the eunuchs bring her a load of *Kirid* (berries) on a camel, but without a sack. They were all terrified and begged the old man to advise them what to do. He lay hidden in a bush and he advised them to plaster the camel's back with soft earth and stick the berries in it. The queen was greatly astonished and said : ' Who gave you this counsel ? I am surprised that there is still a man in the world '.

Then she commanded that a ladder should be made, to reach from the earth to the sky. The old man advised them to go to the queen and say : ' We will make it, if you will tell us the length '. Once more she was greatly astonished. The eunuchs then desired to water their camels and they asked her leave. She said : ' To-day I am going to wash my fingers in the water '. When her daughter bore a son, the queen immediately ordered him to be castrated. But the daughter

besought her so urgently that she allowed the boy to keep his testicles till he was six months old, as long as he was still a suckling. When the boy was a year old she saw that he was a strong child and she said : ' I am afraid he might kill me ', and she tore one of his testicles to pieces with her nails. When he was nine years old, he killed the old woman and tied her body on to a camel's back. Then he whipped the camel till it went off at a gallop. Her body was rent in pieces and all over Somaliland one can see her graves. The passers-by throw stones or rags on these mounds. Women throw rags as a sign of reverence, and men throw stones in revenge. Drake-Brockman gives a somewhat different version of the latter part of this legend :

' One morning he (the young man) went to Arawailo and asked her if he should take the camels to water, whereupon she replied, " No ", as she had not washed her little finger. On the following day he again went with the same request, only to be refused, but this time her reply was accompanied with the excuse that she had not washed her ring finger. This same excuse she made on seven consecutive days, only each day she said she had not washed a different finger.

' . . . On the eighth day she consented, and accompanied the young man . . . to the wells. He had previously arranged with his friends that he would kill her at the well side, so that they might all see him do it, and he also told them that if Arawailo, when he speared her, uttered the words " *Tolla aiydi* ", he would possibly request their help, as then everybody would know that she was a man, but if, on the other hand, she uttered " *Ba aiyai* " (the woman's exclamation on receiving a wound) they might leave her to him without interfering.

' The much dreaded Arawailo, however, on receiving the first thrust, gave vent to the latter or woman's exclamation, and was forthwith rapidly despatched '.[7]

It is not difficult to explain the detailed features of this myth. How can the eunuchs without a scrotum [German : *Hodensack*—scrotum ; lit. ' testicle-sack '] deliver the berries (the semen) to the queen ? How can they build a ladder to the sky, i.e. achieve an erection ? Only a proper man can accomplish these tasks ; only with the penis can the ' dreadful ' mother be overpowered.

Now she is overpowered in coitus, that is, when the man drives his horse or camel (penis [8]) to be watered at the well (vagina). Therefore

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[7] Drake-Brockman : *British Somaliland*, 1912, pp. 169–171.

[8] In the Somali songs the penis is called a horse or camel.

the queen refuses permission and prefers to dip her fingers in the water (masturbation). Nevertheless there by the spring she is speared by the man in the end, i.e. he performs coitus with her.

As at the inception of tribal life, so on the threshold of ontogenesis, we find the Somali's concern for his penis. When a male child is born they take pains to cut the umbilical cord in such a way as to leave as much as possible, and then they try to stretch it, for the longer it is, the longer will be the penis. They tie the part which has been cut off into a knot, which the mother keeps in her bag. If a delivery is not going smoothly, this piece of the cord is held over the fire and the woman sniffs the steam.

With the help of the myth of Arawailo we can now throw more light on the structure of this castration-anxiety.

When we consider the fact that the Somali extirpate the penis (clitoris, worm) from or out of the vagina, we may envisage two possibilities. Either the dread of the ' wound '—the vagina—is the real and main dread and the phantasy of the penis in the vagina is a way of consoling oneself with the thought that after all the wound is not so bad. Or else what is really repressed is the dread of the father, or of his penis, and the dread of the vagina is merely a substitute arrived at by displacement. In this case the mechanism would be that of a phobia, and the father's penis would be the true repressed which returns from repression (the vagina). The myth is in favour of the second alternative. The old man (the father) is hidden in the bush and from being the real enemy he is transformed into an ally. The doubt : ' Man or woman ? ' also suggests that behind the cruel queen there is after all the figure of the primal father. With the mother the son can deal alone through the sexual act, but in order to vanquish the primal father, the hero needs the support of the horde of brothers. So it is with the parallel situation in the life of the individual. Is castration-anxiety determined only phylogenetically, i.e. by the nature of sexual intercourse (ejection of semen, cf. Ferenczi) ? Or is it a question of a real danger, an actual threat of castration ?

When we take account of what we were told about the practice of inviting the small boys to masturbate, we should be inclined to favour the first suggestion. But we learn what great care is taken that brother and sister should not sleep in the same bed and that coitus should not take place in front of children, or at least only in the dark. The most important contribution to this question, however, came from the Dalbahanta woman Fathumo. Her brother used to be quite

different she said. He used to take an interest in his mother and sister, but now he would have nothing to do with them. What happened was this. Their father was a dealer in Nairobi and there he married a Kavirondo woman. She never left him in peace and stirred him up against his son, who was already grown up. The old man was of a savage and cruel disposition, and one night he got up and went to where his son was sleeping, took hold of his testicles and began to press them and utter threats. From that time on, the son was completely changed and never spoke another word to his father, mother or sister. The father has now long been dead. She has sent money to her brother, who had formerly been very good to her, but she has had no answer, so thoroughly did this ' primal father ' succeed in frightening his son away from mother and sister. Now with a people amongst whom an actual attempt at castration occurs, we need have no hesitation in assuming that the threat of castration is a real one.

Summing up, we may say that the peculiarly excitable, very quarrelsome and vain character of the Somali is, like the custom of infibulation, connected with a specific way of dealing with castration-anxiety. Part of it is dealt with by reaction-formation and manifests itself as masculine courage and exaggerated national pride. Part is repressed. But this repression is translated into action—and here we have a significant difference between this people and the civilized races. First, it is acted out in the form of autotomy.[9] The prepuce and the clitoris are cut away ; the Eyssa cut off an enemy's penis, for, without this trophy, they would not get a wife. Secondly, the repression is enacted in the form of scotomization (Laforgue), for, after the vagina is stitched up, it is actually no longer visible.

With regard to libidinal organization, we can say that the men are at the stage of phallic sadism and the women at that of an unresolved masculinity-complex and unsatisfied object-love. Like the women of Europe not long ago, they run after poets and reply to the reproaches of their men : ' You give us no *bahilaua* (love-poetry) ; all you do is to come and have coitus with us '. In a word, the men's anxiety can only be imperfectly dealt with in the abridged dramatic fashion of the rites of infibulation, cutting open, etc. On the other side, the woman can hardly succeed in making good by libidinal cathexis so excessively sadistic a trespass on her.[10] The Somali themselves sum up the relation of the two sexes in the following story :—

[9] Cf. Ferenczi on repression and autotomy.

[10] Cf. the dream of Ewado : ' Many men came and loved me very much '.

'A woman once said to her husband: "There are two questions I want to ask you. First, why is it that all men love women and women do not love men? And secondly, when we have intercourse, I lose myself altogether and surrender all the lower part of my body to you. But you, why do you always want to press on further and further?" The man answered: "A woman loves a man more than he does her, but she is faint-hearted and cannot reveal her secret. And I always press forward in coitus because no man has yet fathomed the depths of a woman".'

The woman loves the man and thinks that when she gives him her vagina she surrenders everything. What she does not trust herself to give, however, is object-love. 'Why should he always press on further, towards the upper part of my body—towards the whole being of a woman—when I have already given him my genitals?' So with the man. He says nothing in his answer about 'pressing on' to the upper part of her body. He simply has to pierce more and more deeply, that is all that he gives to the woman. But the phallic weapon is not love.

We see, then, that the sexual practices of a people are indeed prototypical and that from their posture in coitus their whole psychic attitude may be inferred.

GLOSSARY [1]

Ai poara . . children's engagement (D.)

Alknarintja . . . 'eyes turn away,' women who will not look at men (A.)

Altjira . . dream ; children's oracle game (A.)

Altjiranga mitjina. totemic ancestors (A.)

Andatta . . eagle-hawk down (A.)

Aralta . . subincision hole (A.)

Arknanaua . . sacred cave (A.)

Arrakutja knara . big or old woman (A.)

Bagi . . . neck-shell : article circulating in ceremonial exchange (D.)

Baita . . . a magic performed in order to ward off hunger from the village (D.)

Barau . . evil magic, sorcerer (D.)

Barau karena . 'trunk of the barau', very great wizard (D.)

Bankalanga . . ogre (L.)

Bona . . . a magical bait used to attract either fish or women (D.)

Bukunao . . members of the same matrilineal clan (D.)

Bwajawe . . roots, medicines ; also used in the same sense as *baita* (D.)

Churunga . . A totemic object from which children emanate and into which ancestors are transformed when they die or sink into the ground (A.)

Damasi . . palolo (worm) ; feast named after this (D.)

Dimdim . . white man (D.)

Doe . . . pandanus streamer, flag (D.)

Ebadi-doe . . first ceremonial circuit made by every new canoe (D.)

Erintja . . demon (A.)

Esa esa . . rich or famous man (who gives to all and expects nothing in return) (D.)

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[1] The following brief glossary only comprises terms which occur more than once in the text. Australian terms are indicated by the letters (A) or (L) (Aranda or Luritja), and Papuo-Melanesian terms by the letter (D) (Duau) after the words.

Gumagi . . 'my betel nut', ceremonial exchange relationship, anyone who for the time being stands in this relationship to a particular person (D.)

Illpangura . . totemic ceremony performed to be *shown* (A.)

Ilpindja . . love magic based on totemic tradition (A.)

Inkata . . chief, universal father (A.)

Inkura . . 'hole'; last phase of initiation ceremony (A.)

Jehana . . brother-in-law (D.)

Kamuni . . mother's brother (A.)

Kapata-kapata . boy's game of being grown up (L.)

Karena . . origin, or superlative of some thing (D.)

Kerintja . . ceremonial avoidance (A.)

Kesusura . . payment for evil-magic (D.)

Kukurpa . . dog-demon (L.)

Kutara . . peaked hat made of bushes (A.)

Kune . . . ceremonial exchange (D.)

Leltja . . . enemy (A.)

Lojawe . . courting, coitus (D.)

Ltana . . . ghost (A.)

Ltata . . . corroboree; totemistic dance leading to coitus (A.)

Madawa . . short canoe; world-tree, mango, growing at *To Madawa;* dugong (D.)

Magi . . . betel nuts (D.)

Mamu . . devil, big like a devil (L.)

Mbanja . . marriage; approaching a woman with a spear-thrower and seizing her by force or with a show of force (this being recognized as constituting marriage) (A.)

Mia . . . mother (in classificatory system) (A.)

Mona . . . clumps of taro boiled in coconut oil (a festive dish) (D.)

Muranyi . . cohabit (L.)

Muri . . . follower, helper in ceremonial affairs (D.)

Mwadare . . food distribution festival given by a man's sister to his wife or by his wife to his sister (D.)

Mwari . . arm-shell: article circulating in ceremonial exchange (D.)

Namatuna . . small bull roarer (A.)

Nankara . . medicine man (A.)

Nankari . . medicine man (L.)

Ngallunga . . initiation myth and ceremonies, the ceremony of running backwards and showing the sub-incision hole (L.)
Ngantja . . hidden one, spirit friend and protector (A.)
Nibana . . cross-cousin (D.)
Nuhuna . . siblings of different sex (D.)
Oba . . . healing (magic) (D.)
Ose . . . stingy (D.)
Pwanikau . . long yams (D.)
Ratapa . . unborn babies, also real child (A.)
Rawerawe . . lover (D.)
Rella ndurpa . real person (A.)
Sagari. . . feast (D.)
Seudana . . ' cooked food ', return presents for *mwadare* (D.)
Sigaha . . love magic (D.)
Siwapa . . tower to be filled with yams at *mwadare* (D.)
Taj gagasa . . cheeky man (D.)
Tapwaroro . . Christianity (D.)
Tasina . . siblings of the same sex (D.)
Tmara . . place or camp (A.)
Toni asa . . owner of the village (D.)
Toni sagari . . distributor of food at a feast (D.)
Tubuna . . grandfather (in classificatory system) (D.)
Une . . . ceremonial exchange, same as *kune* (D.)
Wahana . . uncle, nephew (D.)
Wamulu . . sacred feathers (L.)
Wari esa . . namesake (D.)
Werabana . . witch (D.)

BOOK REVIEWS

On the Nightmare. By Ernest Jones. (Hogarth Press and Institute of Psycho-Analysis. International Psycho-Analytical Library. No. 20 1931. Pp. 374. Price 21s.)

For nearly twenty years it has been something of a scandal that one of the most interesting works of the foremost English-speaking exponent of psycho-analysis (for no one will deny Ernest Jones this title) has not been available in English. *Der Alptraum* was originally published as one of the valuable *Schriften zur angewandten Seelenkunde* in 1912, and is incorporated (with alterations and additions) in the present book, in which it makes its first appearance in an English dress. It is doubtless a sign of the relatively slow realization of the sociological importance of psycho-analysis that it should have had to wait so long, for those who knew the work could scarcely fail to recognize that it was one of the most impressive contributions of psycho-analysis to social and historical science. In spite of its wealth of erudition and its restraint of expression (in the field that easily lends itself to a somewhat exaggerated emotionalism), it is yet in its way inevitably something of a ' thriller ' ; it fascinates (as any adequate treatment of its theme must do), inasmuch as the things it deals with, like the nightmare itself, are essentially compounded of attractive and repulsive elements. The *Alptraum* portion of the book is preceded by the essay on the Pathology of the Nightmare, originally published in the *American Journal of Insanity* in 1910. This now forms a general introductory section. The book also contains a new and hitherto unpublished part dealing with certain philological aspects of the subject ; while the short conclusion formerly attached to the *Alptraum* now brings the whole work to an end.

The major portion of the book was thus written a considerable time ago, as the history of psycho-analysis is reckoned, and it is interesting in itself to note that subsequent analytic discoveries have in no way invalidated the main theme as then propounded, i.e. that the terror dream and the various allied fears of waking life are the result of an intense repression of very strong (and in their origin incestuous) sexual desires. The two most important facts in the ætiology of the nightmare are, according to our author, (i.) that it arises from within ; (ii.) that it is of mental origin, a sexual wish in a state of repression. The resistances which manifest themselves in the structure of the dream itself have also influenced the manifold interpretations of it. From the very beginning, with the help of the mechanism of projection, an effort has been made to deny its endopsychic origin, the responsibility being thus thrown upon certain imaginary evil beings in the outer world. In the Middle Ages these

beliefs underwent a remarkable development and systematization under the influence of the Church. In its earlier history, this institution had, with clearer psychological insight, combated these very beliefs; but later on, under the combined influence of a fear of unorthodoxy and an increased terror of incest (i.e. the two aspects of the Œdipus complex), it encouraged the various superstitions resulting from this tendency to projection and made potent use of them for its own ends. In this way were developed the elaborate beliefs in Incubi and Succubi, vampires, werewolves, witches and Devil, to which the middle portion of this volume is devoted. 'Scientific materialism', with its hostility to animistic notions, disposed of these beliefs, which had originated in projection, but while recognizing that the causes of nightmare must be sought for within the organism itself, in turn denied the essentially mental nature of these causes.

The decline of the superstitions under consideration had, however, begun well before the triumph of the materialistic attitude in science. The author considers that the most important factor was a further increase in repression that took place largely under the influence of Puritanism. In the Middle Ages witchcraft, for instance, was freely talked about, though denounced as a dangerous sin. Puritanism carried the repression further by forbidding discussion altogether. Sexuality became a thing that was not talked about at all, and this change of attitude was quite inconsistent with a continuance of the witch epidemic, 'for the witch trials consisted largely in ventilating in great detail the most repellent aspects of sexuality. In short, the feeling gradually increased that the performances of witches were too improper a theme to be dwelt on: such things were simply not done' (p. 229). We have here a fascinating problem in social psychology, one that obviously has important bearings on the whole process of the transition from one stage of culture to another. It is clear, however, from Dr. Jones's own account, that the matter cannot be adequately described merely in terms of repression. He speaks, for instance, of a 'hypocritical compromise', as a result of which sexuality 'was allowed to exist on condition that people were discreet about it'. The psychological rôle of this hypocrisy would seem to require further investigation. Can it be described as a dissociation on the pre-conscious level? And does the taboo on speech somehow satisfy the super-ego so that it no longer manifests itself by causing terror? Neurotic anxiety is a symptom in which influences from the id and from the super-ego are closely combined. In the dissociation implied by hypocrisy the two influences would seem to have fallen apart. Considerable freedom is allowed on condition that certain taboos and pretences are observed; and in this way relief from anxiety is obtained. The wave of terror that is apt to strike a puritanically minded assembly at any infringement of

the speech taboo is instructive as to the way in which taboo protects from terror.

But this change in the method of dealing with conflict was accompanied also by a change in the content of the repressed and feared desires. As Ernest Jones himself points out, the centre of conflict would seem to vary from age to age. In the witch-hunting period it was around the idea of incest that the struggle raged. In the succeeding puritanical era the incest tendencies seem to have caused less trouble, owing to more effectual inhibition; the fear of obscenity (connected with a repression of the scoptophilic and exhibitionist tendencies) largely replaced the fear of incest and has continued to occupy the forefront of repressive social activities until the present day. That the obscenity mania of modern times in some ways corresponds to the witchcraft mania of an earlier period has been independently noted by a number of other writers, notably by Havelock Ellis in his last volume. It is clear that a detailed study of the processes that have led up to these changes represents a great and fascinating task for future psychologico-historical research. The work under review leads up to these problems, but does not seriously attempt to deal with them. Nevertheless, when this task is eventually undertaken, the book will assuredly be one of the most valuable sources of information to which the psychologically minded historian of the future will refer.

It is interesting to note that the fundamental thesis of the present book, i.e. that certain superstitious beliefs have their origin in nightmare, is admittedly not new. As with so many other psycho-analytic discoveries, there have been intelligent anticipations and flashes of insight in the past, sometimes in the remote past. In the present case the author finds his own view already explicitly stated in the Canon of Ancyra dating from the ninth century.

It is obviously not possible to pass in review all the main findings and conclusions of a book so packed with detail as the present one. A few indications of its particular contents are all that can be given. The first section, as already indicated, enunciates the main theme, and is the only portion of the book that is written from the clinical point of view. There will doubtless be many readers who will find this section somewhat tantalizingly brief and condensed. It contains a very useful digest of previous work and is itself a brilliant exposition of the author's own view. At the same time it is perhaps a little disappointing to find that there is no treatment here of certain fundamental problems that could perhaps best be approached from their clinical aspects. Above all, there is a complete absence of concrete clinical material—in the sense of descriptions and analyses of actual individual nightmares, as distinct from generalized accounts. We should have liked also a discussion of the relations between nightmare and general anxiety states, particularly such as were available

for study on a large scale in connection with the war neuroses. The author is of opinion that the repressed sexual desires that play a part in nightmare are always incestuous. It must be admitted that little *clinical* proof of this is to be found in the present book (a fact on which hostile critics will probably not fail to comment), though in the later sociological portion of the work there is plenty of evidence with regard to the rôle of the incestuous tendencies in the superstitious beliefs there under consideration.

Another omission that will be regretted is the absence of discussion as to the dynamic and economic relations between fear and sexual desire as manifested in the nightmare. The whole question of this relationship in its more general aspects is one that is of the greatest theoretical interest and importance. As is well known, Ernest Jones has elsewhere opposed the early view of Freud that desire could be converted or transformed into anxiety, and has himself maintained that neurotic fear is rather in the nature of a reaction formation against repressed libidinal urges, a position which Freud himself later on appears to have accepted or to which he has, at any rate, approximated. Recently, however, something like the older view has reappeared in psycho-analytic literature (e.g. in the writings of Laforgue), so that it cannot as yet be considered that there is any general agreement among psycho-analysts about the exact nature of the relationship involved. Nightmare, in which the struggle between lust and terror is probably more acute than in any other human experience, might well seem a very favourable field for the further more detailed investigation of this problem.

Another matter on which further knowledge is obviously needed concerns the rôle of the respiratory functions. The author bids us remember ' the important, though commonly ignored, connection between stimulation of the upper air passages and erotic excitation '. The directly libidinal aspects of breathing (as distinct from anxiety aspects) have received all too little attention from psycho-analysts, though Forsyth has drawn attention to their manifestations in the young child, and Róheim and others have pointed out their importance in the anthropological sphere. Here, again, the nightmare might well offer excellent opportunities for making good this omission.

The existence of such outstanding problems shows that much work still remains to be done before we shall fully understand the psychological phenomena of nightmare. The fact that an essay published some twenty-two years ago still represents the limit of our knowledge in this field, though it redounds to the credit of the author, shows how the subject has been neglected in the interval.

In the second section, which represents the major portion of the book, Jones first considers the general criteria of the existence of a causal relationship between dreams and superstitions. He then deals with incubus

and incubation as examples of projection of erotic wishes on to imaginary beings. In the vampire beliefs we encounter the same tendency definitely related to the ghosts of recently dead persons of emotional importance, with accentuation of the oral sadistic trends. The ambivalent attitude of the living to the departed is here shown to play a very significant rôle. In the next chapter—devoted to werewolves—we come into contact with animal transformation and with a more definitely dental aspect of oral sadism. It is pointed out that, though the werewolf belief has much in common with the Incubus belief, the former differs from the latter in being concerned with the imaginary (sadistic) attacker rather than with the (masochistic) victim of the nightmare, and in its greater emphasis on the pregenital components.

There follows a long chapter on the Devil, which will be perhaps for many the most interesting of the whole book. The most important factor here is the mechanism of ' decomposition ' of an ambivalent attitude, leading to the creation of a good deity and an evil one. It is pointed out that ' coincidently with the growth of the Satan idea in the later history of the Jews . . . the character of the Yahweh belief changed and approximated much more nearly to the modern one of a benevolent God. In the earlier history of the Jews Yahweh combined the attributes of both God and Devil '. ' A deity professionally devoted to evil ' is, it would seem, required only when an intense desire for a beneficial celestial Father is combined with the persistence of a lively anxiety. The actual figure of the mediæval Devil is largely composed of persistent pagan elements which the Church was unable to destroy, while ecclesiastical encouragement of the belief was due to an effort on the part of the Church ' to attribute all its difficulties to the activities of an evil external agency of a kind with which it felt itself well competent to deal '. Psychologically, the devil could personify the ' evil ' aspects of either son or father, and as the son's attitude towards the father may be either imitation or hostility, the resultant figure is portrayed in four separate aspects :—.

(i.) The admired Father.
(ii.) The hated Father.
(iii.) The Son who imitates the Father.
(iv.) The Son who defies the Father.

The Devil idea outlasted the other beliefs which are treated in this book, but has, nevertheless, proved itself less tenacious than the idea of a beneficent God. How has the anxiety originally connected with the Devil been disposed of ? Partly, it would appear, by the already mentioned substitution of the idea of the shameful and the indecent for the idea of the sinful (corresponding to the change of accent from conflict over incest to conflict over exhibitionism—and perhaps also coprophilia), partly by the

solution of the problem of evil in terms of punishment ' as an incomprehensible means of improvement '. This latter change implies a turning inwards of hate that was formerly directed on to an imaginary external deity, a solution of a kind which psycho-analysis has shown to have grave dangers of its own. This consideration is calculated to make us realize that the conception of an evil deity is not without its value. The hostility inevitably aroused by frustration and misfortune is perhaps better directed to a superhuman being than to oneself or to one's fellow men, and it may be that the problem of human hatred can only be solved, if at all, by the concept of humanity as a downtrodden band of brothers—all victims of the tyranny of a harsh and ruthless Nature or Creator.

The superstitions about witchcraft, like the belief in the Devil, were deliberately fostered by the Church. The two chief crimes of the witch were *Maleficium* or interference with fertility in one form or another, and her relations with the Devil. The whole movement corresponds to an intense expression of man's hatred, fear and jealousy of woman—as fostered by the Œdipus complex (for the Devil here represents the father) and the sexual repressions resulting therefrom. The annals of witchcraft afford an unexampled opportunity for the study of this motive of the fear of woman, a fear which, as expressed in the famous *Malleus Maleficarum*, produced a document ' unique in the annals of bigotry and cruelty '.

The third and last portion of the book (with the exception of the short conclusion which was originally part of the *Alptraum*) is a study of the words Mare and the Mara from the etymological point of view. It is certainly the most intensive and penetrating attack on a philological problem from the psycho-analytic standpoint that has yet been attempted. It also incidentally contains much fresh information concerning the sexual-symbolic significance of the horse and of the act of riding, in which we find connections with such at first sight apparently unrelated phenomena as wind, sun, brightness, brooms, water-springs, sea, navigation and many other things ; in most of these associations anal and urethral, as well as genital, elements play a part. This section ends with a detailed etymological consideration of the MR root, as a result of which we get the interesting suggestion that the rôle of ' horse mythology in its relation to Nightmare beliefs ultimately represents a huge *compensation* for the fears of " softening " and loss relating to the Nightmare emissions '. This section is not always easy reading, nor is its precise value always easy to estimate in the absence of specialized philological training. There can be little doubt, however, that the author has made out a good case for a further *rapprochement* between philology and psycho-analysis, which may ultimately prove of great value to both sciences.

Summarizing in his Conclusion, it is maintained that the superstitions based upon the nightmare represent an endeavour to deal with the uncon-

scious realization of the fact that the Christian beliefs themselves are based upon the primordial Œdipus wishes of mankind. Indeed, the chief historical importance of the book is that it contains the first clear pronouncement of the incest origin of religion in general, and of the equivalent beliefs in God and Devil in particular.

The desperate fight against the objects (real or imaginary) of these superstitions was due to the fact that the solution of these fundamental conflicts provided by Christianity was felt to be vitally threatened; hence the intensity of the emotions displayed. In other words, this struggle was a continuance in waking life and on a social scale of the conflicts underlying nightmare.

This is a book which should appeal to a very wide class of serious students of the human mind and human institutions. The psychopathologist, the historian, the anthropologist, the student of comparative religion, the philologist, will all alike find here much that is of interest and of profit. J. C. F.

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The Meaning of Psychoanalysis. By Martin W. Peck, M.D. (London: Jarrold's, 1931. Pp. 273. Price 6*s.*)

In this small book the author has succeeded in giving a clear account of psycho-analysis that should be useful to medical men, medical students and the general public.

He has wisely refrained from discussing the more controversial aspects of psycho-analysis, and limited himself to giving the reader a general idea of the principles underlying its theory and practice. He lays special stress on the two concepts, resistance and transference, which are of such fundamental importance in carrying out psycho-analytic treatment.

On p. 98 the author says that guilt and fear arise as a result of the Œpidus situation. I suppose by fear the author really means anxiety, for fear is manifest before the Œdipus situation arises.

It is a pity that the author refers to 'various methods of psycho-analytic treatment' (p. 154) as this can easily give a wrong impression to the reader. It is an established principle to keep the term psycho-analytic treatment solely for that method evolved by Freud and his followers.

* D. B.

Cinco Lições de Psicanalise. Professor Dr. Sigm. Freud. Traduzidas do alemão por Durval Marcondes e J. Barbosa Corrêa. (Bibliotheca Pedagogica Brasileira. Iniciação Scientifica. 4. serie. Vol. I. Companhia Editora Nacional, S. Paulo, 1931. Pp. 120.)

This is a Portuguese translation of Freud's 'Five Lectures on Psycho-Analysis', delivered at Worcester, U.S.A., in 1909. Dr. Marcondes contributes a Preface which contains a short account of Freud's life and ideas. E. J.

Fortschritte der Sexualwissenschaft und Psychanalyse. IV. Band. Herausgegeben von Dr. Wilhelm Stekel: redigiert von Dr. Anton Missriegler und Dr. Emil Gutheil. (Franz Deuticke, Leipzig und Wien, 1931. S. 166. M.15, geb., M.17.20. S. 22.50, geb., S. 25.80.)

The most interesting contribution to this volume is an essay by Stekel entitled 'Was mich von Freud unterscheidet', one which we fear will be productive of as much mirth as instruction. The other original papers are :—

Missriegler : 'Bemerkungen über "Gegenübertragung"'.
Stekel : 'Die Psychologie der Zwangskrankheit'.
Gerster : 'Ein Fall von Zwangsparapathie'.
Bircher : 'Ein geheilter Fall von Epilepsie'.
Heimsoth : 'Ein Beitrag zur "aktiven Methode"'.

E. J.

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Invention and the Unconscious. By Joseph-Marie Montmasson. Translated with a Preface, by H. Stafford Hatfield. (Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., Ltd., London, 1931. Pp. xxiv. + 338. Price 15*s*.)

This book sets out to prove that creative thinking, and indeed thinking in general, is largely determined and produced by unconscious processes. The book is divided into two parts. In Part I. the author makes a detailed survey of the processes of invention in the fields of knowledge in general, mathematics, the physical, biological and moral sciences and technical invention, with a view to finding and sorting out the factors operative in creative thinking. He concludes that every invention results from the interplay of conscious and unconscious forces. The work of creation can be divided into four stages : preparation, incubation, emergence of the new idea and verification. Interplay between conscious and unconscious occurs in all stages but as a rule consciousness is relatively prominent in preparation (preliminary study of the subject, etc.) and in verification, while incubation, which results in the emergence of the new idea, whether this takes the form of a sudden revelation, or a slower dawning, is invariably unconscious, i.e. the truly creative synthesis is the work of the Unconscious.

Part II. is concerned with the formulation of a theory of integral knowledge based on the data acquired from the survey. Integral knowledge is 'the sum of all psychic activities which combine in the great work of invention'. The unconscious is further differentiated into three grades, automatic, dynamic and æsthetic. The automatic unconscious registers and stores experience. 'The preparation of the scientific invention is thus effected principally by the automatic unconscious.' The processes which go on during the period of incubation and result in the appearance of the new fundamental idea are ascribed to the dynamic unconscious.

This dynamic unconscious is startlingly defined as ' before all, a suggestion ' but the surprise wears off when it becomes clear that the author is thinking of suggestion as essentially an idea which has a spontaneous tendency to realize itself in action. The third grade, the æsthetic unconscious, is the unifying affective drive which moulds and directs the total process. This type of integration is not specific to invention but is characteristic of all thinking : ' but in the case of the majority this creative work remains obscure and nameless, because it does not attain to a sufficiently high degree. The true invention is a maximum point, the inventor a hero of truth '.

Psycho-analytical readers will agree with the author concerning the reality and paramount importance of the unconscious in invention and will appreciate his recognition of the dynamic and affective factors concerned ; but they will also feel that the definition and conception of the unconscious are inadequate. Consciousness, according to M. Montmasson, appears ' with a certain degree of concentration, that is attention '. ' Consciousness, on account of the part played by attention, will thus pass through all degrees and hence through zero. . . . In short, this consciousness measured by zero attention becomes the unconscious.' There is no hint in the book as to the nature of the forces which regulate the distribution of attention and no inkling of the existence of processes such as repression or displacement. The author, as shown by his extensive but mainly French bibliography, has never approached psycho-analytical theory nearer than Dwelshauvers and Jastrow. He does indeed ascribe the orientation of the inventor to his specific field to an original unconscious impulse but has nothing to say about this except that it must be derived ' either from atavism or from a personal aptitude antecedent to all experience '.

The translation reads very well and there is an interesting preface by Stafford Hatfield in which the importance of psycho-analytic work in this field is recognized ; but the suggested hypothesis that ' human invention is the psychical counterpart of the modification of structure, instinct and habit by which living species have been produced ' is not capable of proof or disproof in the present state of biological and psychological knowledge.

Marjorie Brierley.

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Psychologie. Von Harald K. Schjelderup. (Berlin : Walter de Gruyter & Co., 1928. S. 330.)

The author is Professor of Psychology at the University of Oslo. As psycho-analysis has not yet penetrated far in the northern countries it is interesting to see that it nevertheless receives considerable attention in this book.

The book, evidently written by a very competent hand, is mainly divided into four parts: (I.) Original Equipment (of the mind, senses, instincts, etc.). (II.) The Mnemic Functions (ideas, memory and feelings). (III.) The Personality and its Conflicts. (IV.) The Practical Application of Psychology.

In the third section the theory of complexes is described in connection with the problems of feeling, and the author defends Freud's theory of free association against the criticism that such association must always finally reach a complex even when it is actually unconnected with the starting-point. The author (or perhaps the translator) uses the word 'subconscious' in this connection instead of 'unconscious', but insists that the processes in question are dynamically active.

The greater part of the third section is taken up with psycho-analytical topics: ego-ideal, repression, sublimation, flight into neurosis, dreams, symbolism, defence mechanisms—all receive a very fair and adequate, though inevitably condensed, consideration.

The fourth section describes the application of psychology to medicine, pedagogics, law and economics. In the first of these sub-sections suggestion and psycho-analysis cover the whole ground. In the second subsection the author speaks favourably of the application of psycho-analysis to the problems of pedagogics, but he quotes only Pfister in this connection and does not seem to know of Melanie Klein's or Anna Freud's work.

The book, which was published in 1928, was translated into German by Dr. von Grünberg, of Berlin.

E. J.

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The Mind in Conflict. By Richard Amaral Howden. (Oxford University Press. Humphrey Milford, 1931. Pp. xi + 79. Price 2*s.* 6*d.*)

This is a very simple account of 'Modern Medical Psychology', written by a layman for laymen, with a preface by Dr. William Brown, whose influence is apparent throughout. The descriptions are lucid and straightforward, but unsatisfactory to a Freudian reader by reason of their naïveté. There are some surprising remarks, e.g. that 'masturbation with very young children has nothing to do with sex' and that the transference 'needs careful encouragement by the doctor' until the patient can get across his own ditches by himself. 'The transference can then be broken.' The author accords full credit to Freud for the foundation of modern psychological medicine, but it is significant that his bibliography contains no psycho-analytical reference. It is possibly true that no publication of Freud himself is elementary enough for the particular public in view, but the omission of Ernest Jones's booklet *Psycho-Analysis* cannot be justified on such grounds.

Marjorie Brierley.

Individual Psychology and Sexual Difficulties. By Drs. Alfred Adler, Dreikurs, Wexburg, Hervat, J. C. Young, F. G. Crookshank, Mary C. Luff and others. (London, The C. W. Daniel Company, 1932. Individual Psychology Publications. Medical Pamphlets, No. 3. Pp. 72. Price 2*s.* 6*d.*)

The Individual Psychologist regards sexual difficulties as social difficulties. They invariably form part of a more general failure in social adaptation, a faulty ' style of life '. Modification of the ' style of life ' will further sexual adjustment.

Marjorie Brierley.

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Individual Psychology, Medicine, and the Bases of Science. By F. G. Crookshank, M.D., F.R.C.P. (London, The C. W. Daniel Company, 1932. Individual Psychology Publications. Medical Pamphlets, No. 3a. Pp. 70. Price 2*s.* 6*d.*)

Dr. Crookshank provides a summary of the standpoint and aims of Individual Psychology and makes plain the gulf between Adler and Freud, although his knowledge of psycho-analysis does not seem very profound. Analysts will envy the optimism inspiring such passages as ' Deep analysis in the Freudian sense is seldom necessary, and I would compare the method of Adler with the quick reduction of a dislocation by manipulation and that of Freud with a prolonged and meticulous dissection of the parts '.

Marjorie Brierley.

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Recent Advances in the Study of the Psychoneuroses. By Millais Culpin, M.D., F.R.C.S. (J. & A. Churchill, London, 1931. Pp. 348. Price 12*s.* 6*d.*)

This book is a survey of the recent advances in psycho-pathology and psychotherapeutics, written for the medical student and young practitioner rather than for the specialist on the subject, in so far as it is introductory only and includes short contributions from the adherents of different schools of thought and treatment.

The author gives a comprehensive history of the growth of knowledge of psycho-pathology, touching on the work of the French school led by Charcot and Janet which preceded the discoveries of Sigmund Freud.

In his preface Dr. Culpin points out that ' the chief advances in our knowledge of the psycho-neuroses since the time of Galen have been the direct or indirect result of psycho-analytical discoveries '. He states in the next paragraph that this does not mean that ' this book is only another exposition of psycho-analysis ', and later, that ' only sufficient reference is made to psycho-analytical principles and practice to make the general theme intelligible '.

It is regrettable that the author finds it expedient to apologize for his convictions on the subject of psycho-analysis and for his references to the technique. The fact that he feels it necessary to reassure his readers suggests that he does not expect his plain statement concerning the result of psycho-analytical discoveries to carry such weight.

The writing and publication of this book, however, is evidence that a need for psycho-analytical knowledge as an accepted part of the medical curriculum is beginning to be recognized, and Dr. Culpin's contribution is welcomed by all interested in psycho-pathology.

The author approaches the problem of the psycho-neuroses by an account of the treatment of the War neuroses. The clinical material which he presents is of dramatic interest and illustrates the therapeutic significance of abreaction and the removal of amnesia. He compares the methods of revival and abreaction used in these cases to the cathartic stage of the development of psycho-analysis and illustrates the psycho-genetic origin of hysterical symptoms and the part played by repression in bringing about these symptoms. His insistence on the importance of the complete recovery of memories associated with traumatic incidents is valuable, not only to the student, but also to the practising psycho-analyst, since the advance in knowledge and interpretation of unconscious phantasy has tended to divert the attention of the analyst from the importance of the full recovery of the memory of emotional situations and actions with which the phantasy life is associated. It is obvious, of course, that the uninitiated is liable to carry away a biased impression of the part played by neurotic mechanisms in the mind of the civilian, and of the power of the doctor to cure, if he obtains his impression from clinical accounts of war cases. Dr. Culpin is open to this danger in so far as it applies to the removal of symptoms by suggestion rather than to treatment by revival of memory and abreaction.

Following a comparison between the treatment given during the War at Seale Hayne and Maghull, he says, ' The difference between the two points of view is important, for there are still, on the one hand, practitioners who see only the obvious symptoms, and, on the other, those who recognize in most cases a deep-seated train of pathological mental processes upon which the hysterical symptom is merely an excrescence. Although my own ideas are in accordance with the latter point of view, yet the practical application of the simpler belief suffices in many cases to restore the patient's efficiency. Among the mass of psycho-neurotic disorders there are opportunities for the rapid methods of the practitioner who can confidently undertake to persuade, cajole or bluff the patient out of his symptoms: and also there is scope and need for the painstaking and prolonged methods of analysis '. He goes on to say that a knowledge of the complex pathological processes which underlie symptoms tends to

interfere with the practitioner's ability to deal with the patient by persuasion and simple suggestion. He might have gone a step further and have pointed out that the return of symptoms and the small proportion of cases which are permanently freed by suggestion forces the serious practitioner to doubt the efficacy of the treatment and to look further—just as the inadequacy of the cathartic phase of psycho-analysis drove Freud to seek methods by which deeper parts of the mind could be approached and studied.

The controversy which has raged round many of Freud's views receives more attention than it merits in the chapter on the present position of psycho-analysis, thus focussing the attention of the reader on the words of the critic rather than presenting a comprehensive account of what psycho-analytical theory and practice offer at the present time.

It is not easy to present a fair criticism of the author's presentation of psycho-analysis because he gives different impressions in different parts of the book. On p. 66 he refers to the Œdipus situation ' which comes up in analysis with such regularity that the conclusion is forced upon us that it is a phase of normal development. . . .' On p. 86 he expresses agreement with MacCurdy's suggestion that ' the Œdipus complex . . . does not exist as such in the infantile mind, but has its origin there and is developed in the unconscious with the growth of adult knowledge ', and later, on the same page, gives the impression of an uncertainty concerning the erotic significance of infantile anal interests.

Yet on p. 89 he says, ' There is now sufficient confirmation of Freud's original observations in many cases by workers who, like myself, started out with the intention of believing nothing except what resulted from personal experience, to establish them as facts '.

It is a platitude, perhaps, to state that the psycho-analytical theory of the neuroses rests on the fact of infantile sexuality, yet Dr. Culpin does not make this clear.

MacCurdy has endeavoured to introduce a measure of unreality into the conception by references to the differences in aims in infancy and adult life. These rationalizations cannot be supported if the psycho-analytical view of the development, manifestations, and aims of the sexual instinct in infancy are clearly defined and described.

An account of the development of the libido in the pregenital phases together with some reference to the interaction of sexual and aggressive instincts, is essential to any presentation of the psycho-analytical theory of the psycho-neuroses. The part played by the Œdipus complex cannot be apprehended without an appreciation of pregenital as well as genital sexuality ; this holds good whatever view is held concerning the phase at which the Œdipus complex as such may be said to mature. No explanation of the libido theory is given in this book.

A further defect in the presentation of psycho-analysis, which is closely linked to the blurred description of the development of the Œdipus complex, is the absence of reference to the part played by transference phenomena in life, and the use made of transference in psycho-analytical technique. The transference situation is a repetition of the Œdipus situation. The discovery of the mechanism of transference made deep analysis possible. The recognition of the part played by transference is one aspect of the discovery of the part played by the sexual instinct in the production of psycho-neurotic states. Dr. Culpin approaches this question by separating the influence of the Œdipus situation on the psycho-neuroses from the influence of the social taboo of sexuality (p. 66) and in so doing again detracts from the importance of the Œdipus complex in the etiology of psycho-pathological states. On the other hand, he presents clinical material to prove the truth of Freud's conclusions.

Apart from the omissions which evoke these criticisms, the work and writing of the author provoke admiration and respect. His reference to, and description of, Freud's early work on hysteria are particularly valuable and lay stress on the importance of the psychic reality and dynamic significance of repressed phantasy. A conception which is of primary importance in psycho-pathology.

The chapter on the physiological concomitants of emotion is good reading. He deals first with the Lange-James theory and then passes on to a discussion on the part played by psycho-genetic factors in the etiology of many chronic everyday maladies, some of which in the past have been aggravated by the attention of the surgeon. This is a valuable contribution to medical literature, as it may be regarded as an aid to the re-orientation of the medical profession to the psycho-pathology associated with disturbances of the autonomic nervous system. This re-orientation must start with the medical student and young practitioner into whose hands this book is certain to fall.

The chapters on nomenclature, classification, and diagnosis need little comment. The descriptions given are of symptoms rather than mechanisms, and psycho-analytical theory is only introduced occasionally. Dr. Culpin adopts Jung's division of personalities into extrovert and introvert types.

The author's work on the occupational neuroses is well known. The chapters in this book on the subject are a valuable record. It is permissible to link this investigation with the work on the War neuroses, in so far as they both concern psycho-neurotic cases, in which the external immediate precipitating cause of the illness is brought into the foreground. In the occupational and industrial group a valuable part of the record is the evidence produced of the part played by psycho-neurotic mechanisms which were operating in the mind before the onset of the illness, and of the

confirmation of Freud's work concerning the universality of these mechanisms. From a practical point of view the study of the precipitating factor is obviously of great economic value.

The rest of the book includes chapters written by adherents of Adler's and Jung's psychology, which do not require review.

Of more interest to the psycho-analyst is a chapter by Dr. Emanuel Miller on the psycho-pathology of childhood. Dr. Miller describes briefly Freud's theory of infantile sexuality and the Œdipus complex, and records the earliest attempts at child analysis. He quotes readily from psycho-analytical writers, such as Abraham, Hug-Hellmuth, Klein, Searl and Anna Freud, and raises many debatable points in connection with the criminal child and super-ego formation, which it would take too long to discuss in this review.

The question of the value of intelligence tests and the effect of emotional inhibition on intelligence is fraught with difficulties.

The tendency of the Child Guidance Investigation is to emphasize the environmental factor in disorders of behaviour. There are obviously many practical advantages in this point of view, but it is strange that the author should make the following statement after he has shown his appreciation of the psycho-analytical point of view in his opening pages: ' This method has proved that a large number of psychopathic states have not of necessity the deep instinctual origin which the Freudians believe to be invariable '. He then proceeds to argue his point by the history of two boys in a difficult home environment who stole and left off stealing when the mother's attitude to them was corrected.

So-called ' Freudians ' are continually accused of far-reaching statements; in this case the accusation is that analysis of the child is alleged to be necessary in every case. There is no need to labour the point, because the questions involved are complicated already with useless discussion, starting from false premises and assumptions. Actually the problem of delinquency has not been sufficiently investigated up to the present time to allow anyone to make certain statements and, until the deep psychological aspect of the problem is clear and defined, the relative importance of the external environment cannot be estimated.

Dr. Miller says, ' It (i.e. a social survey with the assessment of intellectual endowment) has shown, from the pragmatic angle, that analysis of the child is not necessary in every case, and that ultimate problems of psychology may not have as much to do with a particular behaviour problem as Freudians would have us believe. In some cases educational adjustment alone will help to diagnose the condition; that is to say, the therapeutic effect of a change in school life will indicate where the cause of the psychopathic disorder lies. And, lastly, readjustment of a social situation will not only cure a condition, but explain its psychopathology.

Psychopathic states in the child, therefore, may be said to arise from a variety of levels, although it must be admitted that in a large number of cases, perhaps the greater number, the roots are in the earliest years of life '. The confusion of thought is obvious.

When dealing with the family situation Dr. Miller underestimates the significance placed by the psycho-analyst on the emotional relationship between the individual children of a family. This is recognized to be of supreme importance in some cases, in which brother and sister may replace a parent psychically.

The chapter has the merit of containing many sound quotations and an excellent Bibliography.

The reviewer would like to draw attention to a clerical error. *Bibliography No.* 44. Psycho-Analytic Institute should be Institute of Psycho-Analysis.

The last chapter of the book is written by Dr. J. R. Rees on the subject of psycho-therapeutic clinics, and presumably is based on the organization of the Tavistock Square Clinic, of which he is Deputy Director. The reviewer ventures to suggest that some description of the special aim and function of Clinics devoted to psycho-analytical treatment *only* would be a useful addition to the contents of this book.

S. M. Payne.

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Sex Hostility in Marriage : Its Origin, Prevention and Treatment. By Th. H. Van de Velde. Translated by Hamilton Marr, M.A. (Cantab.). (London : William Heinemann (Medical Books), Ltd., 1931. Pp. 296 and xvi. Price 17*s.* 6*d.* net.)

This is the second volume of a trilogy on married happiness, and its purpose is to help the general public to an understanding of ' those repelling forces between the sexes which threaten the happiness of a marriage ', with a view to their successful overcoming. The author endorses Stekel's Law of Bi-Polarity to the effect that in married love there is also married hatred. He distinguishes in this hatred a primary sexual antagonism, the inescapable polar contrast to sexual attraction, and a secondary sexual antagonism due to a reversal of the sex impulse itself as a means of defence against the impulse itself or as a result of trauma, lack of satisfaction or other cause of aversion. Understanding of the differences between the sexes will help to bridge the gulf between them. Masculine and feminine contrasts therefore receive detailed consideration. The essence of the problem to Van de Velde lies in what he calls the psychological tragedy of woman, namely, that ' She desires submission with her whole soul and being but seeks to gain power. She herself, sooner or later (usually, however, from the very first) begins the struggle for power, and if she wins the victory, she loses the very thing that she most needs, the

protection and support of the man '. It is the author's opinion that the dependence of woman on man, and the latter's supremacy in marriage and in society, are based on natural facts.

Prophylaxis begins with the choice of partner. Reason must be heard here as well as love, and considerations of circumstance, health and character are all important. A number of suggestions are made as to the suitability for marriage of the different Kretschmerian types (illustrated by photographs). The importance of practical erotic knowledge in marriage cannot be overestimated. Special dangers to be avoided are: suppression of erotic feelings in men by too great concentration on their work, and insistence on their rights; non-erotic intimacy, sometimes favoured by wives; lack of agreement as to permission of conception. Sufficient restraint should be employed to maintain ' that strongly erotic atmosphere which is the most effective remedy for hostility '. Persuasion, suggestion and acting ' as if ' may all be used in curing established hostility In spite of its difficulties, marriage seems to the author the only condition which offers to men and women alike a complete life. ' The true marriage is not the one without conflict, but the marriage that is ever reconciling its conflicts.'

Marjorie Brierley.

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Sexual Life in Ancient Greece. By Hans Licht. (London: George Routledge & Sons, Ltd., 1932. Pp. xv + 557. Price 42*s.*)

This admirably produced book provides a very accessible compendium of our knowledge concerning the sexual life of Greece. It is, perhaps unfortunately, divided into two parts, the first dealing with the more general love aspects of the topic, including marriage, the life of women and interest in the human figure, and the second part dealing with the sexual life in a narrower sense. The book deals at length with the various perversions, and, of course, gives an extensive account of the peculiar form assumed in Greece by inversion. In regard to the latter the author insists, and rightly so, that the phenomenon was by no means exclusively dictated by sexual impulses, but that it constituted a means of achieving other ideals prized by the Greeks, particularly bonds of loyalty among men. The material he provides on this point is of special interest to psycho-analysts in the light of our modern knowledge concerning the sources of sexual inversion. The author has drawn directly on original sources, and has special chapters on the literary aspect of the material discussed. The book is profusely supplied with illustrated plates.

E. J.

*

The Sexual Life of Man. By Dr. Placzek. (London: John Bale, Sons & Danielsson. Pp. xx + 314. Price 12*s.* 6*d.*)

As its title suggests, this book pretends to treat of the whole sexual

life of man, physical and psychological. On the psychological side its treatment of Freudian theories reverts to the time-worn practice of setting up a dummy, calling it psycho-analysis, and knocking it down. The author's concept of psycho-analysis is too fantastic to justify wasting space on it here. On the physiological side the book is cursory, and largely a re-hash of elementary text-book material, not even simplified in language for the layman. It is difficult to see how any serious student, doctor or lawyer—for whom, according to the sub-title, the book is intended—could benefit by reading it.

S. L. Yates.

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Education of the Backward Child. By David Kennedy-Fraser, M.A., B.Sc., F.R.S.E. (University of London Press Ltd., 1932. Pp. 254. Price 6*s*.)

This book gives some valuable information about methods of teaching the backward child. It begins with an interesting chapter on ' What is the Backward Child ? ' in which mental tests are discussed, but it is to be regretted that here no mention is made of a detailed psychological examination of the child, nor of the possibility of the backwardness being due to some psychological ' inhibition ', which can be better helped by psychological treatment than by mental testing.

This chapter is followed by others dealing with different school subjects. The last, ' The Teacher ', gives a glimpse of the difficulties of teaching backward children and of the great patience, interest and enthusiasm that are necessary for such teachers.

G. Lewis.

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Clinical Notes on Disorders of Childhood. By D. W. Winnicott. (London : William Heinemann (Medical Books) Ltd., 1931. Pp. 216. Price 10*s*. 6*d*.)

In this book the author reviews briefly most of the illnesses of childhood, in the diagnosis and treatment of which there is the possibility of confusion between conditions having an organic basis and those arising from anxiety states and having, therefore, psychological causes.

Recollections of the passage, usually tucked away at the end, which, in most books on the diseases of children, treats of the ' nervous child ', will cause one to read with more than relief Dr. Winnicott's vivid clinical histories. The pictures given in these histories of the distinct personalities of different neurotic children show that the ' nervous child ' of the text-books is as much a myth as is the ' economic man '. The author draws attention to the fact, little realized outside the narrow circle of medical psychologists, that childhood is the time when, most frequently, bodily

illness is the expression of emotional conflict. Consequently he emphasizes the necessity for the understanding of the whole child and the due consideration of psychological elements in the treatment of these disorders. Dr. Winnicott explains the differential diagnosis of all the main symptoms which can have either an anxiety or an organic basis and demonstrates most admirably by his carefully selected case material how a thorough knowledge of the history of the case, with special attention to the known psychic traumata and difficulties of childhood, is an indispensable concomitant to such diagnosis. But a knowledge of child psychology is not enough; in order to obtain these histories in a serviceable form, account must be taken also of the psychology of the parents.

Especially sound is the emphasis laid on the aspect of self-healing intrinsic in neurotic symptoms, and the timely and necessary warning is given 'that attempts to probe into the unconscious without intending to do a complete analysis is likely to be harmful and cannot be truly valuable. Anxiety that the child was formerly avoiding, or dealing with, may by such means be brought to the surface, and may then lead to severe exacerbation of symptoms and of unhappiness'.

To the psycho-analyst, one of the most interesting chapters will be that dealing with convulsions. The author observed a frequent correlation of fits with early feeding difficulties, and he puts forward a suggestion that the fit may be a form of dealing with the ambivalent oral feelings towards the mother.

S. L. Yates.

✶

A Changing Psychology in Social Case Work. By Virginia P. Robinson. (The University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, N.C., 1930. Pp. 204. Price $2.50.)

Social work is more widely employed in both psychiatric and general medical situations in America than in most countries, and it has not escaped the American predilection for organization and standardization. This latter tendency includes both social work and social workers themselves. The investigation reported by Miss Robinson in this volume is essentially a protest against established routine or 'type treatments' in such commonly encountered situations as inebriety, desertion and family controversy.

In the consideration of social problems she follows the general approach of social psychiatry as taught by the Institute for Child Guidance of New York, and particularly the formulations of Dr. Marion Kenworthy. The latter in turn freely acknowledges that the entire handling of social case problems should rest on the theory of psychic determinism as stressed in psycho-analysis. Miss Robinson would introduce psycho-analytic principles—especially as expounded by Rank—into social case work

treatment, and thereby permit the patient not only to ' work out his own will ' as conscious desires, but also to express his unconscious and unaccepted strivings against the attitude of the analyst, represented in this instance by the social worker. She would also impose the time limit technique proposed by Rank—and since generally repudiated—as an aid in clearing the social situations.

The author protests against the former frequent notation at the end of a social worker's case reports—' Case closed because of lack of co-operation '. Nevertheless, it does not seem likely that the average case worker will encounter greater co-operation in the Rankian technique outlined in this volume. The presentation, however, serves the valuable function of bringing emphatically to the attention of social workers that a consideration of the individual's point of view is far more important than her own opinion about a given case and the frequency with which she projects her own difficulties and prejudices into these situations.

Although most of the author's acquaintance with psycho-analytical literature is second hand, and does not extend beyond the more superficial principles, the book is a readable presentation of the progress of social work from the attitude of stereotyped direction to that of specific interpretation.

C. P. Oberndorf.

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Witchcraft, Magic and Alchemy. By Grillot de Givry. Translated by J. Courtenay Locke. (London : Harrap & Co., 1931. Pp. 395. Price 42*s*.)

This book represents a praiseworthy undertaking most successfully carried out. Its object is to offer, not, of course, an inclusive collection, but a representative selection of mediæval illustrations on the themes indicated in the title. It is, in fact, a superb iconography of the subjects in question. The author, evidently an enthusiast with a large private collection, has ransacked the mediæval sources, has omitted the more banal and familiar examples, and has exercised a rare discretion in choosing his topics from a vast material.

The ground covered is divided into three books : I. ' Witches ', including the topics of demonomania and necromancy ; philtres and death-spells are also considered. II. ' Magicians ', extending from Jewish Cabbalists to modern cheiromantics, clairvoyants and water diviners. III. ' Alchemists ', including both the secret doctrine and laboratory methods.

The text is very well written and translated. The author has wisely confined it mainly to a description of his illustrations, adding only what is necessary by way of an introduction to the subject matter of each chapter. Both he and his publishers are to be congratulated on an excellent piece of work.

E. J.

A TEN YEARS' REPORT OF THE VIENNA PSYCHO-ANALYTICAL CLINIC

BY

DR. EDUARD HITSCHMANN, DIRECTOR

In February, 1920, the Berlin Polyclinic was opened. It owed its inception to the memorable words of Freud, in which he insisted on the necessity for public centres which would extend the opportunities of psycho-analytic treatment to larger sections of the population. Stimulated by the example of the Berlin Polyclinic, I resolved to establish a similar Institute in Vienna.

In planning this I had in mind not only the social benefit which such a clinic would represent and the opportunity it would provide for training psycho-analysts : my intention was also and above all to erect a token to our theory, which was as yet all too little known and too bitterly opposed in Vienna.

In consequence of the World War there was at that time a great increase in the cost of living, the value of the currency had fallen, private benefaction was crippled and the Government was forced to economize. But the military authorities had a considerable number of premises to spare and there was a plan of using certain of these, formerly part of the Garrison Hospital No. 1, for an extension of the General Hospital. Here, in this medical centre, was obviously the ideal place for a Psycho-Analytical Clinic, and I found a helpful and energetic adviser in the eminent radiologist, Professor Guido Holzknecht, a man of universal sympathies, who was interested in psycho-analysis. I drew up an application to the Council of the Medical Staff of the General Hospital, in which Holzknecht had a vote, and on July 1, 1920, a corresponding petition was presented to the State Public Health Department.

It proved a difficult matter for psycho-analysis, which was evidently almost unknown to many of the physicians at the Hospital, to set the official wheels in motion ; the Medical Council asked for an opinion from Professor Wagner-Jauregg, the Director of the Vienna Psychiatric Clinic, but it was July, 1921, before his verdict was given.

It was unfavourable and based the rejection of our application on the following quite invalid grounds : ' Firstly, the proposed Clinic is intended for therapeutic purposes only and, secondly, the methods employed are to be purely psycho-analytical, to the exclusion of other forms of psycho-therapy '. This was as much as to say that there was no need for psycho-analysis and that its methods were of no value.

The rejection of the application was a painful disappointment, but before long I was glad to see that it had moved Professor Wagner-Jauregg to establish a psychotherapeutic Out-Patient Department at his Clinic,

though, of course, this could not meet all the needs of a great city for psychotherapeutic treatment.

For the remainder, the Minister of Finance also declined to be responsible for the expenditure involved in the founding of a State Clinic.

Our further efforts in the autumn and winter of 1921 met, however, with kindly encouragement from Hofrat Dr. Tauber in the Public Health Department. He offered us some vacant rooms in the Garrison Hospital No. 2, thus giving recognition to our aims, although we could not avail ourselves of the offer because of the cost of adapting the rooms.

At last Doz. Dr. Deutsch, to whom psycho-analysis was to owe a great deal, succeeded in providing us with suitable premises. In the Ambulance Station of the ' Herzstation ' Society we were able to rent a number of rooms with sound-proof doors, available for afternoon work, and also a hall for evening meetings.

The directors of the ' Herzstation ', Professor Hans Horst Meyer and the former Professor Rudolf Kaufmann, met us sympathetically, and with the approval of the Public Health Department, the Medical Council and the Professional Association of Vienna Physicians, we were about to found the Psycho-Analytical Clinic *at our own expense*, but by legally recognized means. The Professional Association, however, at their Council meeting in February, 1922, refused to consent to the opening of the Clinic on the grounds that it was superfluous and would damage the financial interests of Viennese physicians. Dr. Paul Federn, Doz. Deutsch and I succeeded, by presenting an explanatory memorandum, in obtaining the rescission of this resolution. The Professional Association then consented to the establishment of a Clinic for psycho-analytical treatment. They imposed, however, the following condition : ' All psycho-analytical treatment and scientific study of this method is to be exclusively in the hands of medical men and both the teaching staff and the students must be members of the medical profession. With the exception of the patients, no laymen shall have access to this Institute '.

This clause makes it obvious how strong was the fear in Vienna lest the medical profession should suffer damage materially if laymen were permitted to become analysts.

At last we were able to invite Professor Freud to inspect the premises in their finished condition ; to make a public announcement ; and finally to open the Clinic, on May 22, 1922. It was maintained by private contributions, but it came, of course, under the Health Authority, represented by the Public Health Officers of the municipality of Vienna.

We had given our first report at the Seventh International Psycho-Analytical Congress, held in Berlin, when to our unspeakable astonishment, on November 30, 1922, after six months of work, we were ordered by the municipal Health Authority instantly to close down the Clinic.

This was an effective answer to those who had held that it would have been better simply to open the Clinic and confront all the official authorities with it as an accomplished fact. For in their order the municipal authority expressly stated that the work of the Clinic had been ' unauthorized '.

Now, in 1932, after ten years' work without a hitch, during which cases have been sent to us by every kind of municipal organization for social welfare, by health insurance societies and by the law courts—when, in spite of a staff of six physicians, we can deal with only a fraction of the large number of patients who apply to us—when even the Clinical Hospital from time to time sends some of its patients to us for treatment—now, I say, it seems almost incredible when we recall the suspicion, ignorance and hostility which greeted our attempt to found a Psycho-Analytical Treatment Centre !

Fortunately, although this decision was based on the verdict of the highest public health authority, it was possible to appeal against it to the Federal Department for Social Administration and our appeal succeeded. Thereafter, ' official psychiatry ', which had been the chief drag on our progress, could interfere no more. We did not expect our project to meet with warm encouragement, but at least objectivity and impartiality carried the day. Thus, the Department justified its permission for carrying on the Clinic ' subject to revocation ' by the following obvious answer to a petty objection : ' The alleged absence of any need for such a Clinic does not constitute a reason for prohibiting it ; on the contrary, as far as that reason goes, the means of confirmation on proper scientific lines cannot be withheld '.

Thus, after an interruption of three and a half months (!), we were at last able to re-open the Institute, and we now had to comply with exact instructions, statutes and regulations. We even obtained leave for foreign physicians who were qualified by a full theoretical training to work at the Clinic as visitors.

Laymen continued to be barred from the Clinic ; in 1925 a further special ordinance was issued threatening that if lay workers were allowed to join in the work of the Clinic, it would be closed.

Meanwhile its activities went forward regularly. The medical members of our Society faithfully carried out their initial pledge and each willingly made himself responsible for one or more free treatments. We had only three or four rooms at our disposal for treatment, so that from the outset the older physicians received Clinic patients in their private consulting-rooms. The Society held its meetings in the hall at the Clinic, and there, three years before our Training Institute was founded, I gave a course of introductory lectures on psycho-analysis (November 3 to December 1, 1922). The audience consisted of 9 Austrians, 3 Americans, 1 Englishman, 1 Pole and 2 Dutchwomen. On November 15, Doz. Deutsch began a

course of lectures with the title : ' What ought the practical physician to know about psycho-analysis ? '

The lecture-courses were systematically continued. Thus in the autumn of 1923, the Society announced the following courses :—

Dr. Federn : Psycho-analysis for beginners.
Dr. Jekels : Theory of the libido.
Dr. Nunberg : Theory of the neuroses.
Dr. Hitschmann : Chapters from the theory of the specific neuroses.
Dr. Sadger : Sexual perversions.
Dr. Reich : Clinical psycho-analysis.
Dr. Jokl : Occupational neuroses.
Doz. Deutsch : What ought the practical physician to know about psycho-analysis ?
Dr. Reik : Religion and obsessional neurosis.

To give a further example of this part of our work, in autumn, 1924, eighteen courses of lectures were announced. Amongst these were those of Doz. Schilder who spoke on psycho-analysis in psychiatry, Aichhorn on children with asocial tendencies, Friedjung on sexuality in children, and Bernfeld on psycho-analytical psychology and the psychology of infants.

The lectures were most satisfactorily attended.

In the spring of 1924 we opened on the premises of the Clinic a *Child Guidance Centre* directed in the first place by the late Dr. Hug-Hellmuth. In the autumn we appointed Dr. Wilhelm Reich as the first member of our regular medical staff. In autumn, 1925, a second physician was appointed, and since 1930 our regular staff has consisted of two assistant physicians and four other doctors.

The *Training Institute* began its work in 1925 and was directed by Dr. Helene Deutsch, Fräulein Anna Freud and Dr. Siegfried Bernfeld. The Training Committee was as follows : Dr. Federn, Dr. Nunberg, Dr. Reich and Dr. Hitschmann.

In March, 1929, a special *Department for Psychoses* was added to the Clinic, at the suggestion of a former assistant physician, Professor Paul Schilder, whom the Health Authority placed in charge of it. As, however, Professor Schilder shortly afterwards accepted an appointment in New York, Dr. Eduard Bibring, in autumn, 1929, became director of this department, which is engaged in the treatment of the psychoses on a psycho-analytical basis.

In giving this survey of the ten years' work of the Clinic I would acknowledge with gratitude the loyal and zealous co-operation of all the workers and especially the help contributed by Dr. W. Reich, who has now moved to Berlin, by our former assistants, Dr. Bibring-Lehner and Dr. Sterba, and finally by Dr. R. Nepalek, Dr. E. Kronengold, Dr. E. Bergler, Dr. Eidelberg, Dr. E. P. Hoffmann and Dr. Sperling. Our

collaboration has always been most harmonious and the spirit of humanity and conscientiousness in dealing with our poor patients has at all times been eminently upheld.

Further special sections of this report will be devoted to the history of the Training Institute, of the Child Guidance Centre and of the Department for the Treatment of Psychoses. The work of the seminar on therapeutic technique will also receive separate notice.

The Clinic has been run on similar lines to those of the Berlin Polyclinic, but with this difference: here in Vienna we were under the most rigid necessity of accepting only such patients as were *demonstrably without means*, so that for many years they contributed nothing whatever financially to our expenses.

Further, we had the use of our premises in the afternoons only, so that from the outset it was necessary for some of the Clinic patients to be treated in the private consulting-rooms of our colleagues. Again, medical students and lay persons were and still are strictly forbidden to take part in our work. Our wish to unite under a single central direction the Clinic and the Training Institute, as is done in Berlin, could not be realized, as we were forbidden to train laymen at the Clinic.

Up till now, lack of funds has prevented our combining under one roof the Clinic, the Training Institute, the lecture-rooms, and possibly also the Psycho-Analytical Press (*I. P. Verlag*), instead of having them scattered in various rented premises. Only a site for the building of such an institution has been granted by the Town Council of Vienna to the Psycho-Analytical Society, in honour of the occasion of Professor Freud's seventieth birthday.

From the outset the maintenance of the work of the Clinic was provided for by the private efforts of members of the Society, all the medical members having promised to co-operate in it. Over and above the expenses of maintenance, the salaries of the medical staff and fees of part-time physicians made very heavy demands upon us. To meet these we were able to draw on a sum of money made over to us by Professor Freud, out of the presentation-fund commemorating his seventieth birthday (1926) and on a generous gift from America. Both these sums are, however, now exhausted.

Dr. Reich successfully initiated the practice, common in other public Treatment Centres, of asking patients who were not entirely without means to pay small monthly contributions towards the administrative expenses of the Clinic.

Unfortunately our financial future is very precarious, for, so far, we have not been able to obtain a grant from public funds.

I take this opportunity of expressing the conviction that *it is the duty both of the State and of the municipality to give financial support to our*

Institute. The birth-pangs of the Clinic may have been severe, but nevertheless in the last ten years psycho-analysis has gained ground visibly as a method of research, as the most searching way of investigating the mind and as a highly important, even though a protracted and laborious, means of curing neurotic disorders. Such important discoveries have been made in the field of medical psychology that they have brought psycho-therapy as such into the foreground. But there is no Austrian clinical hospital in which psycho-analysis is adequately taught : only our Institute fills the gap. The Psychiatric Clinic and the law-courts send patients to us (the Courts passing only a conditional sentence, provided such persons can show that they are receiving treatment from us against their uncontrolled behaviour). Hence we are working for the general welfare by the order of officials of the State. The municipal social welfare authorities and the municipal Matrimonial Advisory Centre, etc., as well as the Health Insurance Societies, send us cases for treatment or for our opinion ; some of them come to us even from the country outside Vienna. But in spite of our staff of six medical men we are quite inadequately equipped to deal with the pressure of cases requiring our help. Many patients can never be dealt with at the Clinic at all and even urgent cases often have to wait for months before they can be treated.

Lack of funds prevents us from appointing a sufficiently large medical staff, and again, owing to the smallness of the Clinic and the impossibility of working there in the mornings, we can accomplish only a fraction of all that we might do.

That the Vienna Clinic ought to be supported as a monument to one of the greatest of Austrians and that the foreigners who would like to study here in considerable numbers would be of benefit to the community at large is surely evident.

If there is anyone who wants to see psycho-analytic treatment improved still further, what better thing can he do than to support this centre of scientific and practical work ?

The clinics in London, Budapest, Frankfurt-am-Main and New York, as well as those of Berlin and Vienna, are proof of the necessity for such centres. Although this ten years' survey of our work comes at a time of severe economic depression, yet we hope that the ideals which we are striving to realize in our Clinic for the public service as well as in our single training centre in Austria may be recognized at their true value and that the scope of our work, so far laboriously sustained in the main from our own resources, may be enlarged by outside support.

The city in which Sigmund Freud accomplished his life-work—the world-famous work of a genius—*must* possess a teaching centre for psycho-analysis and be able to bring its therapeutic benefits within the reach of wider circles of our people.

The Work of the Clinic

The following section contains a survey of the first ten years' work at the Clinic, illustrated by tables, for which we have to thank Dr. R. Sterba.

Table I. shows the variations in the number of applications for treatment in the years 1922–1931. The entries in our registers vary on an average from 200 to 250, which, having regard to the difficulties with which the Clinic has to contend, is quite a large number and considerably in excess of what it can cope with. The curve shows a temporary increase in the number during the year 1923–24. This was due to the fact that a Viennese newspaper with a wide circulation published several articles on the Clinic. (These articles were not inspired by the Clinic or the Psycho-Analytical Society, but were published quite spontaneously.) The slight drop in the numbers in the year 1930–31 was common to almost all the public clinics in Vienna, and probably depends on economic and social factors. In general, apart from slight natural fluctuations, the number of those attending the Clinic has remained fairly constant from year to year. Male applicants for treatment have regularly been more numerous than female. We merely mention this fact without attempting any explanation. The same applies to Tables III. and IV., in which patients are classified according to sex, age and occupation. Table II. gives the classification according to types of illness or symptoms. The diagnoses were made not merely in conformity with the usual classification of types of illness, but (especially where it was not possible to place a case under a single heading) according to the most prominent symptoms. The total number of cases treated purely analytically is approximately 750. The average number of cases being treated at any one time has been from forty to fifty. Besides these, a large number of cases received psycho-therapeutic treatment in the form of talking-over sessions on analytical lines.

Table I

Variations in the Number of Patients in the Years 1922–1931

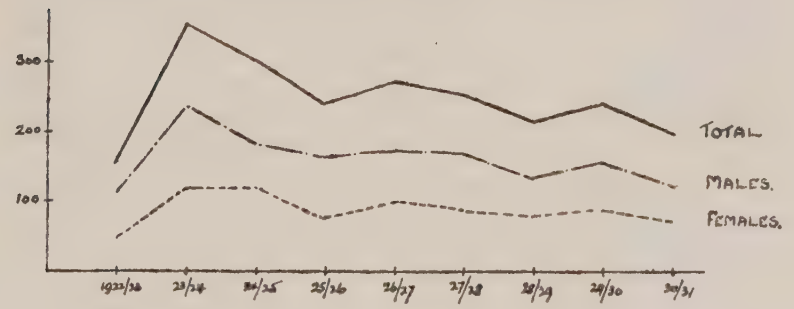

TABLE II

Diagnoses

Diagnosis	1922/23	23/24	24/25	25/26	26/27	27/28	28/29	29/30	30/31
Hysteria	7	31	29	16	19	21	25	20	8
Anxiety hysteria	22	49	39	32	33	24	16	29	24
Actual neurosis	—	4	2	4	7	14	3	—	6
Obsessional neurosis	10	33	23	8	17	15	11	10	8
Neurasthenia	15	10	9	7	10	9	6	5	5
Impotence	15	29	48	40	60	48	54	41	31
Frequent pollution	—	—	—	2	2	1	—	1	—
Frigidity	2	13	14	8	12	6	6	7	11
Depressive states	16	28	27	29	22	20	14	29	23
Hypochondriac symptoms	1	9	16	9	8	7	7	5	8
Shyness	12	25	23	13	18	15	10	20	17
Impairment of working capacity	—	—	8	2	—	—	4	6	2
Occupational neurosis	3	6	3	2	2	4	—	3	1
Bronchial asthma	—	6	1	1	1	—	2	2	2
Tic	2	3	3	1	2	1	1	1	4
Stammering	2	12	5	7	4	9	7	2	2
Compulsive love	1	—	—	—	3	1	—	—	3
Compulsive onanism	—	—	3	—	2	8	5	2	3
Exhibitionism	2	—	—	2	1	—	1	2	2
Manifest homosexuality	7	9	8	3	3	2	2	4	3
Tendency to homosexuality	1	—	3	2	1	—	2	2	—
Other perversions	1	7	3	6	1	7	2	7	—
Neurotic character	8	15	—	1	3	—	3	4	—
Neuropathy	6	—	3	7	—	7	1	6	5
Debility	1	7	0	2	2	1	1	—	—
Cyclothymia	1	2	5	—	1	1	4	5	1
Schizophrenia	6	9	6	9	12	8	4	10	5
Paranoia	4	13	2	3	—	3	1	5	6
Climacteric neurosis	—	4	—	1	2	—	1	—	2
Epilepsy	1	5	5	7	4	2	5	4	4
Cephalea	3	9	5	3	3	1	2	3	3
Traumatic neurosis	—	4	—	1	2	—	1	—	2
Educational difficulties	—	—	—	—	11	14	—	1	—
Asocial character	—	—	1	—	—	—	5	2	1
Pseudologia	—	1	1	—	—	1	1	—	—
Kleptomania	1	2	—	1	—	—	1	—	—
Poriomania	—	1	—	1	—	—	1	—	—
Cravings	2	1	2	—	1	2	—	2	1
Enuresis	—	—	1	—	—	1	—	—	1
Agrypnia	—	4	1	3	1	1	1	—	3
Actual conflict	—	—	1	1	—	—	2	1	—
Organ-neurosis	—	2	2	5	1	—	1	1	—
Organic disease	7	1	2	1	—	2	3	2	4
Total	159	354	304	240	271	256	216	244	201
Grand Total								2245	

Table III

Age and Sex

Age	Sex	1922/23	23/24	24/25	25/26	26/27	27/28	28/29	29/30	30/31
0—10	M.	1	2	2	2	7	6	2	1	—
	F.	1	3	1	1	5	1	—	1	—
11—20	M.	9	27	22	26	19	18	14	19	9
	F.	3	18	15	12	7	9	6	8	5
21—30	M.	64	100	92	78	99	88	66	80	68
	F.	22	41	48	35	39	41	39	46	37
31—40	M.	22	53	43	38	35	37	35	39	33
	F.	14	31	28	20	20	23	19	23	24
41—50	M.	13	39	13	14	11	9	9	10	9
	F.	6	15	23	6	15	10	12	8	9
51—60	M.	3	12	8	4	5	6	6	2	3
	F.	1	9	5	1	4	3	8	4	2
61—70	M.	—	3	2	2	1	2	—	2	1
	F.	—	1	2	1	4	3	—	1	1
Total		159	354	304	240	271	256	216	244	201
Viz.	M.	112	236	182	164	177	166	132	153	123
	F.	47	118	122	76	94	90	84	91	78

Grand Total 2245

Viz. Males 1445

Females 800

Table IV

Occupation and Sex

Occupation	Sex	1922/23	23/24	24/25	25/26	26/27	27/28	28/29	29/30	30/31
Salaried Employees	M.	35	55	59	48	54	65	53	61	40
	F.	12	17	21	18	17	20	14	16	18
Working Class	M.	11	67	45	41	46	37	36	39	43
	F.	3	16	14	3	9	13	5	14	5
Professional	M.	14	25	34	21	21	17	17	16	17
	F.	1	5	8	8	6	—	4	10	9
Domestic Service	M.	—	1	—	5	—	—	—	1	—
	F.	1	10	2	2	9	7	6	14	8
Teaching	M.	6	10	4	4	4	2	2	8	1
	F.	4	2	5	6	3	6	7	4	6
Without Occupation	M.	13	32	5	10	2	4	4	1	4
	F.	20	61	62	34	39	29	42	29	26
Pensioners	M.	3	—	2	1	—	3	1	1	1
	F.	2	—	—	—	2	1	—	—	1
School Children	M.	1	9	10	11	15	17	6	8	2
	F.	1	5	4	4	8	4	4	1	2
Students	M.	29	37	23	23	35	21	13	18	15
	F.	3	2	6	1	1	10	2	3	3
		159	354	304	240	271	256	216	244	201

Grand Total 2245

Department for Border-Line Cases and Psychoses

In March, 1929, at the suggestion of Professor Schilder, we instituted a new department for the treatment of border-line and psychiatric cases. Schilder planned a systematic experiment in the psychotherapy of the psychoses, but unfortunately his work had hardly begun before it was interrupted, for, in the summer of 1929, he was summoned to America.

In the autumn of 1929, Dr. E. Bibring was appointed Director of the new Department. During the year 1930–31 Dr. Ruth Brunswick worked there regularly, and various members of the Society have given us help, from time to time, either by assisting at some of the general consultations or by volunteering to treat certain cases themselves.

During its short existence the department has developed in several directions. First, any cases in which mental disease is suspected but which need continued observation before a definite diagnostic decision can be reached, are sent to the above section by the department for neuroses. If the diagnosis finally excludes mental disease, these patients are then sent back to the department for neuroses, while psychotic and border-line cases remain under observation in the psychiatric section, where some of them are eventually given treatment. In a number of such cases the treatment is not quite identical with pure psycho-analysis, because, in consequence of being adapted to diseases of a different category, the technique calls for modification in certain particulars. Other selected cases are given psychotherapeutic treatment based on psycho-analysis. The work of the department is therefore threefold : first, observation and diagnosis ; secondly, treatment of appropriate cases by psychotherapy on a psycho-analytical basis ; and, thirdly, psycho-analysis of border-line cases or of certain selected cases, generally incipient, of psychosis.

Over and above the patients sent to the psychiatric department from the department for neuroses at the Clinic, increasing numbers are sent there direct, not only by psycho-analysts but likewise by outside physicians, other clinics and social welfare centres.

The Child Guidance Centre of the Vienna Psycho-Analytical Society

A special department was started at the Psycho-Analytical Clinic for the purpose of advice and guidance in relation to children and young people. From 1922 till 1924 this department was under the direction of the late Dr. Hug-Hellmuth, assisted by Frau Flora Kraus. In 1928, Dr. E. Sterba took over the direction.

Consultations are held once a week at the Clinic. The number of consultations each week varies from 10 to 25 ; in a year from 40–70

cases are seen several times. The children who come for guidance are recruited from all strata of the necessitous classes. They are sent to us from schools and clubs, by teachers or other individuals and by school-doctors and children's physicians. Sometimes they are brought by relatives. But many young people come for advice of their own accord.

After careful investigation such cases as seem suitable are given the opportunity of undergoing an analysis, free of charge, by members of the Society or candidates training at our Institute. Cases which are less suitable for analysis receive analytical observation or advice at the centre itself and, in addition, they are given any help that seems appropriate, such as recommendation of a change of school or of *milieu* outside school, or enlightenment of teachers or parents as to the children's difficulties, etc. Similarly, many young people receive at these consultations any advice which they seek on sexual matters or on the choice of their occupation.

At the beginning of 1932 the scope of the consultations was enlarged, and they were transferred from the Clinic to rooms specially taken for them. At present Dr. A. Aichhorn is the Director and Dr. E. Sterba, Dr. Hoffer, Dr. Eisler and others take part in the work.

THE TRAINING INSTITUTE AND THE CLINIC

BY

DR. HELENE DEUTSCH

The origin and development of the ' Vienna Training Institute ' as a centre for training in the theory and practice of analysis are closely connected with the destinies of the Clinic. The two institutions sprang from a single root ; they were separated under the pressure of largely practical necessities and similar reasons hold them linked together.

The principal practical reason for their separation was the official regulation of the authorities which forbade non-medical analysts to work at the Clinic, thus making it necessary to establish another centre for them.

Besides this practical consideration there were other reasons for keeping instruction and therapy separate. For instance, the interest of a clinic centres—and rightly so—in attaining the largest possible number of therapeutic successes ; this must therefore guide the selection of patients. For the purposes of training, on the other hand, it is above all necessary to work on those cases which are most fruitful from the didactic point of view.

But precisely this fact is one of the most solid links between the two institutions. For there must be a compromise to serve both needs : the therapeutic aims of the Clinic and the didactic objects of the Training

Institute. For this reason the Director of the Clinic is always a member of the Training Committee and *vice versâ* some of the members of the Training Committee are collaborators in the Clinic.

The interests of the two institutions coincide further in the fact that the Institute, in training new, young analysts, provides for the Clinic carefully selected medical workers, whose fitness for their task has been thoroughly tested and who have received adequate instruction. The medical staff at the Clinic is therefore recruited entirely from the students of the Training Institute. This in its turn is dependent on the Clinic for the practical side of the training of such of its candidates as are medical men.

Hence the interests of the two institutions are most closely bound up with each other. That is to say, the Training Institute is a kind of off-shoot—a younger, sister-institution—of the Clinic, but is genetically and organically bound up with it, and the life-history of the former is a part of the life-history of the latter.

It was in 1924 that the Training Institute (now officially known as the ' Training Committee ') was founded as an independent working body within the Vienna Psycho-Analytical Society. The Berlin Institute, which was already extant, provided us with a lead for the first steps of our new venture. All that we had to do was to adapt the experience acquired there to local conditions. As time went on, the question of training in analysis became more and more the central problem for the international psycho-analytical movement and its official representative bodies. Over a long period the International Congresses discussed this question, and the result of the international exchange of opinion was that a training syllabus was drawn up to which all the national groups agreed to adhere.

With the establishment of an ' International Training Commission ', consisting of delegates from the various local Branch Societies of the Association, a common training syllabus was ensured in all the countries in which psycho-analytical training is given. Of recent years other training institutes have been set up (in London, Frankfurt-am-Main, and, most recently of all, in New York and Budapest), and in all of these a common programme gives the assurance of parallel work.

In the year when the Vienna Training Institute was founded the candidates numbered only 6 ; last year the numbers reached 35.

Unfortunately the number of Austrian candidates is strikingly smaller than that of foreign ones. This somewhat unsatisfactory fact is not the result of any lesser interest in analysis in our own country. On the contrary, a large number of eager young people—physicians and teachers—can only be accepted on a ' waiting-list ' because the financial limitations of our Institute, in spite of the sacrifices of the workers there, do not make it possible to provide training for all those who desire this and who would

without doubt deserve it. The financial situation in our country has long made it impossible for any but an isolated few candidates to pay for their training.

We may assume that the work of the Training Institute will continue to increase as rapidly as it has done of late years. Under the pressure of the number of patients who apply to the Clinic for help, the need to train more analysts will become greater and greater. In the field of education the Institute is confronted with further important tasks, arising out of educational problems and the recognition by the guardians and teachers of the young that without deeper psycho-analytical knowledge they have little hope of solving those problems.

This enlargement of the scope of its work imposes on the Training Institute fresh obligations in order to try to meet the needs of teachers and those responsible for the young. These obligations will undoubtedly be fulfilled, although only with help and energetic support from wider circles of people.

SEMINAR FOR THE DISCUSSION OF THERAPEUTIC TECHNIQUE

BY

DR. GRETE BIBRING-LEHNER

In the days when no systematic lines had as yet been laid down for the training of psycho-analysts, novices in the subject were constantly obliged to turn to the older analysts for advice. These consultations took place only irregularly and at haphazard, so that, as soon as the number of students increased, the need for some systematic organization for the purpose made itself felt. At the suggestion of Dr. Wilhelm Reich it was arranged that those who were learning analysis should at more or less regular intervals meet certain of the older analysts. Individual cases which presented difficulties were reported, especially those in the treatment of which some concrete difficulties had arisen and needed dealing with.

In 1921, when the Vienna Psycho-Analytical Clinic opened, these attempts were organized, given a regular footing and thereby encouraged to further developments, by the founding of the seminar for psycho-analytical therapy, under the direction of Dr. E. Hitschmann. The meetings, which had hitherto generally taken place privately, were now transferred to the premises of the Clinic. The purpose of the seminar was to discuss questions of technique and therapy; at the beginning the discussions followed one another in no very definite sequence and there was no special programme. The first thing to be done was to determine experimentally how reports of cases were best presented; the line taken by criticism and discussion, etc. then followed from the picture gained of the

structure of a case, points of practical importance being brought into prominence, wherever possible. E. Hitschmann acted as leader till 1924 ; H. Nunberg did so during the winter term of that year ; and thereafter, right up to 1930, W. Reich took charge. Under him the seminar, which from the beginning had made steady progress, developed even more rapidly. With increasing experience a series of problems had taken shape, which called for a more systematic grouping. From the many kinds of question which presented themselves Reich drew up the following programme :

1. Study of the various resistance-situations.
2. Theory of psycho-analytical therapy.
3. Study of the prognosis.

The seminars took place every second Wednesday, in alternation with the Society's meetings. Attendance was obligatory for all students at the Training Institute and for the physicians practising at the Clinic, whilst a large number of the older analysts collaborated voluntarily. The reports dealt with cases being treated at the Clinic and so provided a basis for the discussion of the groups of problems mentioned above, and a survey of the work being done there. As a starting-point a general scheme for the reports was worked out, so that even the inexperienced were enabled to give a useful review of a case and its problems, which were to be essentially questions not of the theory of the case but of its therapy. The importance for the seminar of precisely these questions is evident from the fact that since 1924–25 the first item on the programme outlined above has been continually discussed, at first occupying the very centre of the stage in the work of the seminar and even later on over and over again playing a predominant part. A number of discussions worked out in detail the typical initial resistances, and also the final resistances in psycho-analytical treatment, and dealt with the technical means of overcoming them. In other discussions specific resistances in particular forms of illness or pertaining to particular neurotic character-types were considered. New insight at very many points was arrived at in the discussions, and at the close of each year's work the results were summarized in special recapitulatory reviews. Thus in the period 1924–26 Richard Sterba reviewed : The latent, negative transference ; Hedwig Schaxel : Masochistic resistances ; Greta Bibring-Lehner : Sadistic transference-resistances ; and Wilhelm Reich : The handling of the transference and the systematic analysis of the resistance.

During the years 1926–29 problems of a wider scope gradually moved into the foreground. These related to the second item on the programme : the theory of psycho-analytical therapy. The causes of psycho-analytical success and failure, the criteria of cure, the attempt to construct a typology of the forms of neurotic illness in respect of the resistances and the prospect

of cure, the problems of character-analysis and character-resistances, of the so-called narcissistic resistances and the so-called blocking of affect—all these questions were examined in their clinical and theoretical aspects on the basis of concrete cases. Partly in this connection a number of publications (by Freud, Ferenczi and Rank) dealing with technical problems were reviewed. The following recapitulatory papers were read during this period: Anna Freud: The technique of child-analysis as compared with the analysis of adults; Wilhelm Reich: The blocking of affect; and Richard Sterba: Mode and manner of expression as a character-resistance.

In the winter session of 1930 the interesting experiment was made of reporting on the same current case-history every week, besides giving single accounts of particular cases. Dr. Helene Deutsch undertook this task with enthusiasm, and in the discussion of the transference and resistance situations as they arose we tried to work out and harmonize contrasting views. In the winter of 1930 Dr. Reich moved to Berlin and Dr. Hitschmann, the Director of the Clinic, again presided over the seminar. In this session the interest was mainly focussed on the question of the counter-transference and, above all, on the effect of the analyst's personality upon the course of the analysis. The cases studied were those in which there had been a change of analyst. The progress of the treatment was described by both analysts, in order to bring out the points of greatest importance for discussion. This line of investigation is still being pursued (Dr. Bibring-Lehner's review of it will shortly be published).

The work of the seminar—the reporting and helpful discussion of cases—has been of benefit in many ways both to technique and to therapy, and has been made use of to some extent for the published work of those who have participated in it. The leaders and the other collaborators of this circle have been fertile in suggestions and indefatigable in their endeavours to elucidate the important questions discussed. This is an appropriate opportunity to pay them the tribute they well deserve. If any difficulties ever arose, they were never more than short-lived. Special recognition is due to Dr. Reich, who led the seminar for so long and with so lively an interest.

BULLETIN OF THE INTERNATIONAL PSYCHO-ANALYTICAL ASSOCIATION

EDITED BY

ANNA FREUD, GENERAL SECRETARY

I. Announcement by the Central Executive

The Congress

A circular letter has been sent to the Branch Societies, and from the replies received it is hoped that, in spite of the difficult economic conditions prevailing, it will be possible to hold the Twelfth International Psycho-Analytical Congress in the summer of 1932. The final decision, together with details of date and place, will be communicated by letter to the Branch Societies at the earliest possible date.

M. Eitingon.
Anna Freud.

Sixtieth Birthday of Josef K. Friedjung

(*May* 6, 1931)

Dr. Friedjung, psycho-analyst and lecturer in the University of Vienna on the treatment of children's diseases, has just celebrated his sixtieth birthday and it is fitting that a special tribute should be paid to his scientific work. For he was the first children's physician to confirm, in the numerous papers he published, the conclusions of psycho-analysis about sexual life in young children, which had in part been deduced merely from the analyses of adults. His gift of keen observation, the confidence he inspired, his sense of humour and his fatherly manner with all and sundry stood him in good stead, and so lasting was the regard in which he was held by those who came under his care that he was able to continue his observations until they grew up and often even longer. While he could thus demonstrate that sexual manifestations in children were universal and often harmless, he was, on the other hand, so convinced that they affected the pathology and behaviour of adults that he preached indefatigably to all classes the necessity for education and enlightenment in sexual matters.

Dr. Friedjung's interest in social questions has impelled him not only to spread this enlightenment both amongst his out-patients and at the meetings which he addresses, but also to take up the cause of temperance and other reforms. His love of his fellow-men caused him to enter politics and, as a social-democratic town-councillor, he has exerted a beneficent influence in municipal affairs and furthered our interests as psycho-analysts.

Upright and true to his principles, diffusing and reaping much affection, Dr. Friedjung stands in the first rank of the champions of psycho-analysis,

and our heartfelt wishes that he may still have years of his indefatigable activity before him are not purely altruistic !

Amongst his various publications we would mention specially his excellent book : *Erlebte Kinderheilkunde*, which not only contains important matter but reveals the tactful and original methods by which he succeeds so well in examining even unruly children. Writings deserving special mention are the following : ' The pathology of the only child ' (*Ergebnisse innerlicher Medizin*, 1917) ; ' The *milieu* diseases of children ' and ' Types of environment in childhood ' (*Zeitschrift für Kinderheilung*, Bd. 37) and his brochure on *Sexual education* (Springer, 1927). He has also published articles on the following subjects : ' The acute psychoneuroses of children ' (*Zeitschrift für Kinderheilung*, Bd. 40), ' Psycho-Analysis in childhood ' (*Wiener kleine Wochenschrift*, 1929) and ' The instinctual life of children in health and in disease ' (*ibid.* 1931). In 1930 he contributed an article to the *Zeitschrift für Kinderforschung* on the subject of ' Suicide amongst children ' and in 1931 one on ' Morbid aberrations of instinct in childhood ' to the *Zeitschrift für Kinderheilung*. At the Fourth Congress of the World League for Sexual Reform, held in 1931, Friedjung discussed ' The rights of children '. Finally we recall his survey, entitled : ' What is the contribution of Siegmund Freud to the treatment of children's diseases ? ' (*Kinderärztliche Praxis*, 1931).

All these writings, and others not cited here, prove that a physician who observes without prejudice, even if he himself cannot spare time for long analyses, must unhesitatingly endorse the conclusions of psycho-analysis in respect of the mental life of children.

E. Hitschmann.

Sixtieth Birthday of Edward Hitschmann

(*July* 28, 1931)

This year three medical members of the Vienna Branch of the International Psycho-Analytical Association have entered on their seventh decade. All three, Friedjung, Hitschmann and Federn, have been friends from their schooldays, so that the interests and enthusiasms of one affected the other two. Their alliance was not without importance in their city, all three having a reputation amongst medical circles there for sound training and early successes in practice. The scientific section of University professors and would-be professors might sneer, but it gave them food for reflection when three men so thoroughly trained in natural science turned their attention to the methods of psycho-analysis alleged to be so inexact and fantastic.

Most of all were they surprised at Hitschmann, that model of order and exactness in all his work and skill, for, whilst on the medical staff of the General Hospital, the great clinical community in the heart of Vienna, he had gained the reputation of a diagnostician to whom every-

day cases were child's play and whom exceptional cases never eluded. This and his wit—many an anonymous *bon mot* of his became a household word —made him justly popular. Only his intimates knew also of his artistic talent and his philosophical and literary culture. So for the sake of psycho-analysis he abandoned a well-tilled field of work or, rather, he had to till it over again.

At first he found it difficult. He had trained himself to work by strictly logical and conscious processes of thought, and now he was to begin all over again, collecting impressions and relying wholly on his unconscious. It is often asserted that fine diagnosis is, like the making of a new discovery, a matter of divination, i.e. of a telepathic sharing in the experience of the object of scrutiny. From what I have been told by the few exceptional diagnosticians whom I have known and from the characteristics I have noted in their work, I should say that there is no need of any such half-mystical power. Common to all great diagnosticians are the sharpness, the precision and the unvarying reliability of all their sense-organs, which are further distinguished by their delicate sensitiveness, their great power of endurance and the enlargement of the field of stimulation. In these men I have never observed a compensated inferiority : their sensory gifts and the superstructure reared on the basis of these are in excess of the normal. Because apperception is so effortless, they constantly take in all the impressions which present themselves. A perception thus smoothly registered is preserved in their memories with a rare faithfulness and distinct from all others. (On one occasion, in the days before he became a professor, I heard Neusser say : ' That is like the case we had six years ago in B. Ward, bed No. so-and-so ', and thereupon he pointed out the analogy to that former diagnosis, which he expounded in full detail.) From a store of images which have been preserved and classified with automatic accuracy such a diagnostician summons into consciousness (again automatically) that which most resembles the case before him. But what enables him thus exactly to preserve and classify his perceptions is the correctly exercised, clear-cut logic of differential diagnosis intentionally applied ; and conversely the classified store supplies the material for the practice of such exact thinking. Thanks to their vivid imagination of the morbid signs and symptoms, minds of this type *read* case-histories, monographs and even textbooks, as though the patient and his internal organs were constantly before their eyes. As physicians they love and are devoted to their art, because all their work is accompanied with the joy of success and with the organ-pleasure of true functioning. They have chosen their profession for the right reason, because their gifts fit them for it, and not from any motives of transference or identification.

This brings us to psycho-analysis. This exact mechanism of the

senses and the intellect brooks no neurotic or otherwise libidinal interruption, or its functioning will be merely capricious, dependent on the subject's private destiny and only intermittently correct. In terms of libidinal economy we may say that the *sine qua non* of diagnostic perfection is that, in so far as professional work is concerned the narcissistic and the object-libidinal cathexes must be completely and sharply distinct. For instance, however proud he may be of his art the physician must not be conceited in his exercise of it. If his attitude is narcissistic he is ill-adapted to register his material correctly, to say nothing of handling it well.

We used to say that Hitschmann was a pure culture of this kind of power and skill and had developed it to a flawless exactitude. As a physician he became a psycho-analyst and has remained both. This is his strength and also accounts for his weakness, as for instance in his attitude towards lay-analysis, of the necessity for which he was slow to be convinced. From boyhood he has taken a lively interest in psychology, and in his professional work this caused him to give thought to the destiny of both patient and physician. The neuroses attracted him, but there clinical medicine had nothing to offer him. He found the correct approach through psycho-analysis, and perhaps the keenest private interest of his youth was even more strongly revived and satisfactorily appeased as Freud's discoveries threw light on the determination of character. He was always impelled, as in the field of internal medicine, to classify what he learned and to apply it on the lines of differential diagnosis. In theory he admitted that Freud was right when he said that premature systematization of facts was useless and easily tended to become a form of resistance ; in practice his gifts and his habits constantly spurred him on to it. In 1911 he published the first textbook on the theory of the neuroses—at that date no mean venture and one which he very successfully carried through. But the progress of psycho-analysis was too rapid to admit of systematization. Since 1913 no new edition of the book has appeared : every conscientious author has to wait until he himself has acquired enough experience and amassed sufficient impressions to reproduce them from his own store. Hitschmann, with his clear brain, does not attempt to deal with what is still obscure, but such conclusions as he has arrived at are contained in his many valuable papers. His strong point lies in finding and verifying certain typical connections between constellations and single symptoms, or in gathering together all the sequels of a given constellation in childhood or of a given symptom-complex. Thus, as a psycho-analyst, he found the way to clinical psychology. As a teacher and conductor of training analyses he has shown the way to younger men. But he has never lost his interest in literature and writers : in several biographical studies based on psycho-analysis, in particular those of Kneller and Knut Hamsun, he demonstrates psychological connections

which had hitherto been overlooked. In his lecture on ' Pathography and Psycho-Analysis ' he justified the aim and showed the value of work on these lines.

In his capacity of physician, psycho-analyst and neurologist, Hitschmann was well fitted, and was appointed, to be the Director of the Psycho-Analytical Clinic in Vienna. The attitude of the medical profession was for a long time hostile to the Institute and the primary necessity for its reputation was reliability of diagnosis, which, indeed, is the prerequisite for all correct indication of treatment and selection of cases. The Vienna Psycho-Analytical Society desires to thank Dr. Hitschmann, their valued Council member and Clinic Director, for the help he has given and the work he has accomplished and to express the wish that in the future, as in the past, his work may be crowned with that success which would satisfy his own high standards.

Paul Federn.

DR. PAUL FEDERN

On October 13, 1931, Dr. Paul Federn, Vice-President of the Vienna Psycho-Analytical Society, whose work has been of the highest value and who has gained universal respect, completed his sixtieth year. In accordance with his expressed wish we are here dispensing with any detailed recognition of the occasion ; and we shall, in pursuance of this precedent, henceforth in this Bulletin deal with all similar occasions in a like manner.

Ed.

II. Reports of Proceedings of Societies

AMERICAN PSYCHO-ANALYTICAL ASSOCIATION

The American Psycho-Analytical Association met in co-joint assembly with the New York Psycho-Analytical Society at the New York Psycho-Analytic Institute, 324 West Eighty-sixth Street, New York City, on December 29, 1931, with Dr. A. A. Brill, President of both Societies, in the chair. The auditorium was filled to capacity with members and guests. The scientific programme was as follows :

(1) Address : by Dr. A. A. Brill.

(2) ' Castration Anxiety in the Female ' : by Dr. Sándor Radó.

(3) ' The Theoretical Basis of Psycho-Analytical Treatment ' : by Dr. Hermann Nunberg.

In view of the fact that Dr. Nunberg was absent on account of illness his paper was read by Dr. Brill.

The only important business before the Society was the submittal of amendments to the Constitution, the purpose of which is the formation of a Central Executive to function among the Psycho-Analytical Societies of America to the end that they may be more closely united and more unified in their policies.

Ernest E. Hadley,
Secretary.

BRITISH PSYCHO-ANALYTICAL SOCIETY

Fourth Quarter, 1931

Scientific Meetings

October 7, 1931. Dr. Glover: 'The Etiology of Drug Addiction'. (To be published in this JOURNAL.)

October 21, 1931. Dr. Lionel Penrose: 'Recent psycho-analytical Research in the Psychoses'. A review of work done in the period 1926—1931; the necessity for unification of certain aspects of Freud's theoretical work; a survey of the results of analytical therapy in the psychoses; experimental therapeutics and new technical devices. The use of psycho-analytical theory in the classification of the psychoses; in regard to the question of fixation, the development of the libido is not a lineal series; doubtful whether a satisfactory classification possible in the present state of psycho-analytical theory.

November 4, 1931. Short communications:

(1) Miss Searl: 'A Note on Depersonalization'. A study of four cases of partial depersonalization; importance of inanimate objects; exchange of part of the 'real' personality for that of some object present in the traumatic situation; a hold on the reality of things keeps paranoid mechanisms in check, since inanimate objects remain stationary and unaggressive; mental life may originally derive from the wish to possess part of the body not subject to danger of loss or damage.

(2) Miss Barbara Low: 'Observations on Depersonalization'. In one case the patient either becomes a disappearing entity whilst his environment swells to huge dimensions or becomes himself monstrously swollen whilst his surroundings dwindle: in first instance factor of fear connected with sexual attack: in second, fear replaced by hostility. In another case patient feels himself an empty shell into which a great force enters: compulsion to re-enact the primal scene as a vision.

November 18, 1931. Miss Sharpe: 'Fetishism and Art'. A case in which an intimate connection existed between the perversion and a sublimation in art; sight of the perfect shoe allayed the anxiety aroused by the sight of the 'castrated' mother. Predominance of aggressive tendencies of oral-sadistic pattern towards mother; guilt and fear aroused by sight of mother's genitals connected with these impulses. The principles of design in the patient's pictures were the same as those causing him to select a particular shoe as perfect. Art is integration in place of disintegration, creation in place of destruction.

December 2, 1931. Dr. Yates: 'Dissociation: a case-history'. A case in which existence of two personalities first appears in a series of dreams; this series linked to dissociations outside treatment; all deal in some way with a problem about 'the right place'; patient had been

unable to assimilate a particular part of his childhood experience dealing with place and relationship; division in the personality would appear to arise in this way.

Edward Glover,
Scientific Secretary.

DUTCH PSYCHO-ANALYTICAL SOCIETY

Fourth Quarter, 1931

October 10, 1931. (Amsterdam.) (1) The meeting was largely devoted to the discussion of business relating to the Society and professional topics.

(2) Dr. J. H. W. van Ophuijsen: 'The Death-wish and the Death-instinct'. Case-history, showing how the patient's longing for death represented a combination of libidinal instincts and of her aggressive impulses against herself: origin of the latter impulses in the hypothetical death-instinct.

November 7, 1931. (Oegstgeest.) (1) The Chairman welcomed Professor Jelgersma, who, after a long illness, was once more able to be present, and congratulated him on his recovery.

(2) Professor G. Jelgersma: 'Projection'. Significance of projection in the formation of delusions and hallucinations. A new concept: 'Extrojection', contrasted with the introjection met with in melancholia. 'Projection': the projection of mental contents outwards into the external world without relation to any particular person. 'Extrojection': the transference of inner mental processes to a particular person.

(3) Dr. A. Endtz: 'Depersonalization'. A case of pure depersonalization discussed in illustration of the psycho-analytical literature on the subject. Detachment of the patient's libido from those in her environment, in consequence of a psychic trauma. Return of the libido to the outside world by way of a spontaneous transference. Result: the recovery, to all intents and purposes, of the patient from a schizophrenoid condition. Confirmation of Dr. Th. Reik's hypothesis of the connection between depersonalization and obsessional states. No clear evidence of the influence of the castration complex on symptom-formation (Sadger).

Election to Membership: Dr. A. M. Blok, Specialist in Nervous Diseases, 39 Wassenaarsche Weg, Haag.

A. Endtz,
Secretary.

FRENCH PSYCHO-ANALYTICAL SOCIETY

Fourth Quarter, 1931

October 5, 1931. Discussion of arrangements for the Fifth Conference of French psycho-analysts, to be held at Sainte-Anne on October 30 and 31.

November 17, 1931. Dr. Pichon: 'A Death-dream'. The significance

of the death imagined in the dream : the translation into reality and the punishment of incestuous desires.

Business Meeting. Dr. Borel proposed that a series of lectures on psycho-analysis should be arranged for students and for the general public.

December 1, 1931. Special meeting to discuss Dr. Borel's proposal. Dr. Allendy suggested that the public lectures should take place at the Sorbonne under the auspices of the Groupe d'Études Philosophiques et Scientifiques, of which he is the director. Dr. Claude will be asked for permission to hold the medical lectures at the Asile Clinique de Sainte Anne.

December 15, 1931. Dr. Loewenstein : ' A case of Obsessional Neurosis '. The roots of obsession in the anal complex. Opportunity for ' active technique.'

Dr. Allendy,
Secretary.

GERMAN PSYCHO-ANALYTICAL SOCIETY

Fourth Quarter, 1931

October 6, 1931. Dr. Angel Garma (guest of the Society) : ' Reality and the Id in schizophrenia '.

October 13, 1931. Dr. Fenichel : ' Dread of the Community '.

Election of Associate Member : Dr. Angel Garma.

October 24, 1931. Frau Dr. Horney : ' Critical reflections on the Phallic Phase '.

November 3, 1931. *Business Meeting.* (1) Report by Dr. Eitingon of the unveiling of a commemorative tablet at the birth-place of Professor Freud, at Pribor-Freiberg in Moravia.

(2) Discussion of the unsatisfactory state of the Institute's finances. The following resolutions were passed :

(*a*) Those undergoing Training Analyses shall be required to make a monthly contribution to the funds of the Institute, the amount to be that of the analyst's fee for a single session.

(*b*) Efforts shall be made to increase the numbers of the Union of Friends of the Institute, inaugurated by Dr. Sachs.

(*c*) The total fees of patients at the Polyclinic who become able to pay for analysis shall be handed over to the Institute.

(*d*) The lecture-fees of the Training Staff shall henceforth be handed over in full to the Institute.

(*e*) The retrenchments decided upon by the Committee for the administration of the Loan Fund were approved. As soon as possible all grants made from the Fund for the purpose of Training Analyses shall cease and the income of the Fund shall be devoted to the support of the Institute.

(*f*) Public lectures shall be given for the benefit of the Institute. (Proposed by Dr. Sachs.)

November 10, 1931. Dr. Bernfeld : ' The Concept of Interpretation in Psycho-Analysis '.

November 21, 1931. Dr. Hárnik : ' Introjection and Projection in the mechanism of Depression '.

December 1, 1931. *Business Meeting.* (1) Dr. Wilhelm Reich was admitted as full Member, transferred from the Vienna Society.

(2) (Proposed by Dr. Sachs.) Public lectures for the benefit of the Institute will be given by Horney, Boehm, Bernfeld, Staub.

(3) (Proposed by Dr. Boehm.) A Committee was appointed either to arrange a second series of public lectures after Easter or, in case the International Congress in Switzerland should not take place, to arrange for a German Congress to be held at the date intended for the International Congress. The following were appointed to serve on the Committee : Eitingon, Boehm, Fenichel and Müller-Braunschweig.

(4) (Proposed by Dr. Boehm.) It was resolved to submit to the members of the German Society a proposal for adopting certain letters after their names to indicate their membership of the International Psycho-Analytical Association. The following Committee was appointed for the purpose : Boehm, Müller-Braunschweig, Naef, Spitz and Staub.

December 8, 1931. Dr. Jacobssohn : ' Masochistic Mechanisms in school-children as an obstacle to learning.'

December 19, 1931. Dr. Reich : ' The Sexual Economy of the Masochistic Character '.

Dr. Felix Boehm,
Secretary.

HUNGARIAN PSYCHO-ANALYTICAL SOCIETY

Fourth Quarter, 1931

September 18, 1931. Discussion on business relating to the Polyclinic.

November 13, 1931. Continuation of discussion at previous meeting.

December 18, 1931. Opening of the Psycho-Analytic Polychinic. After a short address by Dr. Rostagni (Town Clerk), Dr. Ferenczi spoke on the history of the psycho-analytical movement in Hungary, Dr. Bálint on the therapeutic work of the Polyclinic, Dr. Hermann on its training functions, Frau Dr. Dubovitz on analysis of children, and Dr. Hollós on the relation between psycho-analysis and psychiatry.

Dr. Géza Róheim gave a public lecture on November 27, 1931, on his recent expedition for researches on primitive types.

INDIAN PSYCHO-ANALYTICAL SOCIETY

1931

January 31, 1931. *Annual General Meeting.* Proceedings were reported in this JOURNAL, Vol. XII, p. 389.

March 9, 1931. Professor Jiban Krishna Sarkar : ' Phantasy practice in woman's life '.

May 6, 1931. The 75th anniversary of Professor Freud's birthday was celebrated. Nineteen Members and Associate Members and several visitors were present.

It was resolved :

(1) That a cable conveying the congratulations of the Society be sent to Professor Freud immediately. (The cable was sent the same evening.)

(2) That a suitable Indian present be purchased out of the funds raised by the Society and be sent to Professor Freud, and that the rest of the contributions be sent to the Press of the International Psycho-Analytical Association to which the Society is affiliated.

A sub-committee was appointed to decide upon and purchase a suitable present for Professor Freud. The Sub-committee secured a single piece ivory statuette of Vishnu Ananta Deva from Travancore. The statuette was prepared on the model of an ancient stone statue under the guidance of a great authority on Philology and Iconography. The ornaments and decorations on the statuette were designed by a renowned artist and executed by the foremost ivory worker of Murshidabad, Bengal, under the personal supervision of a famous Indian art connoisseur and collector at Calcutta. The pedestal was also designed by the artist and carved by an Indian carpenter. There was an inscription on the silver plate on the pedestal. (The ivory statuette has been sent to Professor Freud.)

Dr. Sarasilal Sarkar read his letters from Professor Freud, stating that the great old man at the age of 75 took considerable interest in the contributions from workers from distant India.

Dr. S. Mitra gave a sketch of the life of Professor Freud for the information of the visitors present.

Professor Rangin Chandra Halder paid a glorious tribute to Freud and described his contributions in the domain of Art.

Mr. Maiti discussed certain bearings of Freud's work on academic psychology.

Lieut.-Colonel Berkeley Hill spoke about his personal reminiscences of Professor Freud, whom he had met at the meeting of the International Psycho-Analytical Congress at Berlin.

President Dr. G. Bose traced the evolution of Freudian thought from its beginning up to the present time.

Secretary Mr. M. N. Banerji recited a Sanskrit poem, composed by Pandit Kalipada Tarkacharja, conveying the Society's greetings to the venerable Professor. Mr. Banerji also explained the stanzas and read the English translation prepared by him, as follows :

'On obeisance to the Absolute Self

'Victory be to this Freud, the great experienced specialist (who is), the new effulgent light of the learned in the ways of the internal organ

(mind), the worthy man who has gradually attained his seventy-fifth year with good deeds (works).

' You highly intelligent, have mastered the science of the mysteries of the moving forces in the mind, which are inscrutable to the non-self, (and) have beautifully thought out a new fixed method of treatment of mental diseases. Some mental states exist which are unknown to the self of the being. They have been easily brought to the fore with the help of proofs.

' You have illuminated the highly complex obscure abysses of the mind, which are impenetrable by a needle. Who can attain equality with you ? Divine favours have gone to their maximum limits in you. External diseases (of the body) are easy to treat, but the cure of mental disorders is difficult ; therefore you, having chalked out a new path, should live eternal years.

' The society of the learned located in India, charmed by your extra-ordinary fame, praises your glory. May you, enjoying pleasures with son, wife and friends, extend your work (research) '.

It was resolved that a copy of the poem and its translation be sent to Professor Freud.

Mr. Banerji then briefly described the progress of psycho-analytic movement, noting also the activities of the different members of the Society for the information of the public.

Lastly, the President caused a pencil sketch of Professor Freud to be projected on the wall as a remarkable handiwork of the celebrated artist, Mr. Jatindra Kumar Sen, who produced it as a guesswork in 1922, having never seen a photograph of the great scientist. Professor Freud's letter containing his remarks on this sketch was also projected on the screen. This evoked considerable interest.

July 12, 1931. *Election of Associate Members :* Professor P. C. Mahalanobis, M.A. (Cantab.), Senior Professor of Physics, Presidency College, Calcutta ; Miss S. Ghosh, M.A., B.T., Dip. Lt. (Edin.), Gokhale Memorial School ; Mr. Parsram, M.A. ; Mr. R. C. Sen, I.C.S. Dist. and Sessions Judge, Howrah.

Mr. Shamswarup Jalota : ' The Unconscious '. He pointed out the existing anomalies in the use of the term and the different senses in which the expression is used by various writers. He was in favour of recognizing an acquired as well as a natural unconscious, and proposed an elaborate classification under 30 heads, according to the degree of consciousness of a particular mental element. He was for the strictest nomenclature to dispel the ambiguity and confusion attaching to the term.

July 16, 1931. Dr. Sarasilal Sarkar, M.A., M.B. : ' The Psychology of taking Prasad ' (i.e. the food remains of a god or superior person). He traced existing beliefs of the sanctity of such food-remnants in India to

the Skanda Purana. He quoted extensively from Freud's *Totem und Tabu*. He cited examples from his analytic cases.

July 19, 1931. Mr. M. N. Banerji : ' The Hindu Psychology of Expiation '. The discussion was postponed pending the circulation of a synopsis to be supplied by the writer. The subject was extremely complex and will be taken up later.

August 15, 1931. *Joint Meeting of the Council and the Institute.*— Applications of Mr. Parsram, M.A., and Mr. D. Ganguli for training in Psycho-Analysis in the Institute were accepted. Dr. Bose was asked to take up the analysis of Mr. Parsram. Arrangements for the training of candidates were completed. Special courses not provided in the curriculum of the Psychology Department were arranged on week days at 6 p.m.

Mr. Birendra Nath Ghosh was accepted as an associate member.

September 11, 1931. Applications of Mr. Tarun Chandra Sinha and Mr. Saradendu Ranjan Bose, B.Sc., and Mr. Sital Chandra Bose, B.Sc., for associate membership were accepted. The application of Mr. Birendra Nath Ghosh for training in Analysis in the Institute was accepted.

On the recommendation of the Institute it was resolved to maintain a roll of practising Psycho-analysts recognized by the Indian Psycho-analytical Society.

September 28, 1931. Dr. Magnus Hirschfield (Berlin, guest of the Society) ; ' Is Homosexuality inborn or acquired ? '

NEW YORK PSYCHO-ANALYTICAL SOCIETY

Fourth Quarter, 1931

October 27, 1931. Short Communications : (1) Dr. Sandor Lorand : ' A Dream about the Metamorphosis of the Sexes '. The dream showed a belief in the female penis and an effeminized father ; (2) Dr. Philip R. Lehrman : ' A Terminal Analytic Hour '. An interesting dream explained the patient's desire to leave analysis and seek actively a kind father or a mother with paternal qualities ; (3) Dr. George E. Daniels : ' Automatic Drawings as an Aid in Prognosis '. Numerous drawings produced by a patient during analysis in a confused state, while wavering between hetero- and homo-sexuality ; (4) Dr. Albert Slutsky : ' Acute Increase in Resistance as seen in Two Dreams '. The dreams referred to the analysis itself as a resistance : the patient resigned hopes of external success if compensated by a continuance of the analysis.

November 24, 1931. Dr. Bertram D. Lewin : ' Analysis and Structure of a Transient Hypomania '.

December 29, 1931. Joint meeting with the American Psycho-analytical Association. Program : (1) Dr. A. A. Brill : Address ; (2) Dr. Sándor

Radó : ' Castration Anxiety in the Female ' ; (3) Dr. Hermann Nunberg : ' The Theoretical Basis of Psycho-analytical Treatment '.

Dr. Sándor Radó has been elected an Honorary Member. Dr. Samuel Parker has been dropped from the lists.

SWISS PSYCHO-ANALYTICAL SOCIETY

Fourth Quarter, 1931

October 31, 1931. Pfarrer Dr. Pfister (Zürich) : (1) ' The Psycho-analysis of Motor-driving ' (published in *Die psychoanalytische Bewegung*, December, 1931.)

(2) ' The analysis of a swindle '. Account of the swindling of a lady out of a large sum of money by two men working in collusion. Psycho-analytical explanation of the swindlers' characters and the psychology of their victim.

It was announced that Dr. and Frau Behn-Eschenburg were giving a course of lectures on psycho-analysis and pedagogy to the Educational Union of the Zürich Teachers' Association.

November 14, 1931. H. Zulliger (Ittigen-Bern) : ' Prophetic dreams '. Analytical material showing the bases of ' veridical dreams ' and the psychology of those who dream them. Conclusion : there is no justification for assigning any prophetic value to so-called ' prophetic ' dreams.

At the request of the Swiss Society for Hygiene, H. Zulliger gave a lecture on ' Difficult Pupils ', as one of a continuation-course for school doctors in Bern.

VIENNA PSYCHO-ANALYTICAL SOCIETY

Fourth Quarter, 1931

October 7, 1931. *General Meeting.* Election of the Council : Professor Freud, *President ;* Dr. P. Federn, *Vice-President ;* Anna Freud and Dr. Jokl, *Secretaries ;* Dr. Bibring, *Treasurer ;* Dr. Wälder, *Librarian ;* Dr. Helene Deutsch and Dr. Hitschmann.

October 21, 1931. Dr. Alfred Winterstein : ' Sense of Guilt, Anxiety of conscience and Need for punishment '.

Election of Members : Frau Dr. Grete Bibring, Vienna ; Dr. Urjö Kulovesi, Tampere, Finland.

Dr. Wilhelm Reich has removed to Berlin.

November 4, 1931. (1) Report by Dr. Federn of the celebrations at Pribor in Moravia on the occasion of the unveiling of a tablet at Professor Freud's birthplace.

(2) Dr. Hoffmann : ' An Example of Ego-Regression '.

November 18, 1931. Lilli Roubicek (guest of the Society) : ' The Montessori system and the psycho-analytical theory of education '.

December 2, 1931. Dr. P. Federn : ' Ego-Feeling in Dreams '.

December 16, 1931. Erik Homburger: 'The Vicissitudes of the Instincts, as illustrated in school-compositions'.

Election of Member: Dr. Hoffmann.

Election of Associate Members: Miss Estelle Levy; Lilly Roubicek.

Anna Freud,
Secretary.

III. Reports of the International Training Commission

BERLIN PSYCHO-ANALYTICAL INSTITUTE

Fourth Quarter, 1931

(*a*) *Lecture Courses*

1. Siegfried Bernfeld: Introduction to Psycho-Analysis. Part I: Analytical normal psychology. (Seven lectures.) (Attendance 107.)
2. Carl Müller-Braunschweig: The Interpretation of Dreams. (Six lectures.) (Attendance twenty-one.)
3. Otto Fenichel: Theory of the Specific Neuroses. Part II: Perversions, psychoses and defects of character. (Seven lectures.) (Attendance twenty-three.)
4. Hanns Sachs: Psycho-Analytic Technique. Part I (for training candidates only). (Seven lectures.) (Attendance thirty-one.)
5. M. Wulff: The Psychopathology of Childhood. (Five lectures.) (Attendance thirty.)
6. Wilhelm Reich (guest of the Society): Sexual Pathology. (Four lectures.) (Attendance, twenty-eight.)
7. Siegfried Bernfeld: Psycho-Analytical Sociology. (Three lectures, followed by discussion.) (For advanced students.) (Attendance seventy.)

(*b*) *Seminars. Practical Exercises. Discussions*

8. Jenö Hárnik: Seminar on the works of Freud: Theoretical writings. Part I (for training-candidates and ticket-holders only). (Four sessions of two hours each.) (Attendance fifteen.)
9. Felix Boehm: Seminar on the works of Freud: Three Contributions to Sexual Theory. (Seven sessions of two hours each.) (Attendance thirty.)
10. F. Boehm and Horney: Seminary on technique. (For training candidates only.)
11. Eitingon and others: Practical therapeutic exercises. (Control-analyses.) (For training candidates only.)
12. Sachs and Fenichel: Discussion of recent publications in psycho-analysis and allied subjects. (Four sessions of two hours each.) (Attendance thirty-three.)

13. Siegfried Bernfeld: Seminars on practical problems of psycho-analytical pedagogy. (For advanced students.) (Attendance thirty-five.)

(c) Study Circles

14. Pedagogical Study Circle. (Bernfeld.)

TRAINING INSTITUTE OF THE HUNGARIAN PSYCHO-ANALYTICAL SOCIETY

Fourth Quarter, 1931

Lecture Courses

Dr. S. Ferenczi: Introductory Course for Physicians. (Three lectures.) (Attendance forty.)

Frau A. Bálint: Introductory Course for pedagogical students. (Three lectures.) (Attendance twenty.)

Dr. I. Hollós: The Interpretation of Dreams. (Six lectures.) (Attendance thirty.)

Dr. I. Hermann: The Psycho-Analytic Method. (Seven lectures.) (Attendance twenty.)

Dr. M. Bálint: The Theory of Instincts. (Eight lectures.) (Attendance twenty.)

Dr. G. Róheim: Introduction to Psycho-Analytical Ethnology. (Eight lectures.) (Attendance thirty-five.)

Frau V. Kovács: Seminars on technique. (For training candidates only.) (Five evenings.) (Attendance nine.)

INSTITUTE OF PSYCHO-ANALYSIS, LONDON

Fourth Quarter, 1931

Lecture Course. Dr. Ernest Jones: The Theory of Sexuality.

Practical and Theoretical Seminars (as usual).

THE NEW YORK PSYCHO-ANALYTIC INSTITUTE

The American Psycho-Analytic Foundation has been established with the object of fostering psycho-analytic education and science in America. This Foundation is incorporated in the State of New York and succeeds the Educational Trust Fund formed by the New York Psycho-Analytical Society several years ago. The Board of Directors of the American Psycho-Analytic Foundation are: Dr. A. A. Brill (*Chairman*), Mr. Leo S. Bing, Mr. Sam A. Lewisohn, Dr. S. E. Jelliffe, Dr. C. P. Oberndorf (*Secretary*) (112 West 59th Street, New York City). The Counsel of the Foundation is Mr. Alfred L. Rose.

The New York Psycho-Analytic Institute, located at 324 West 86th Street, began operation on October 1, 1931. During the first winter its educational and scientific activities will be under the direction of Dr. Sandor Rado of the Berlin Psycho-Analytic Institute. The opening took place at 324 West 86th Street, New York City, on September 15, 1931.

Officers are Dr. A. A. Brill, *President;* Dr. Smith Ely Jelliffe, *Vice-President;* Dr. Sandor Rado, *Visiting Director;* and Dr. Monroe A. Meyer, *Executive Director.* The Institute building contains meeting-rooms, the director's office, and a library room. Regular meetings, seminars, and lectures have been held there since the beginning of October, 1931.

Lecture Courses to be held:

1. Dr. S. Rado: Introductory Course. (Twenty lectures.)
2. Dr. S. Rado: Advanced Course. (Twenty lectures.)
3. Dr. S. Rado: Weekly elementary seminar. (Thirty hours.)
4. Dr. S. Rado: Weekly advanced seminar. (Thirty hours.)
5. Dr. A. Stern: Dream Interpretation. (Six hours.)
6. Dr. D. Feigenbaum: Freudian seminar: case histories. (Six hours.)
7. Dr. G. Zilboorg: Freudian seminar: sexual theory. (Six hours.)
8. Dr. B. D. Lewin: Freudian seminar: theoretical papers. (Six hours.)
9. Dr. G. Zilboorg: Psycho-analytic papers on the psychoses. (Five hours.)
10. Dr. H. Nunberg: Psycho-analytic psychiatry. (Five lectures.)
11. Dr. A. Kardiner: Application of psycho-analysis to literature. (Four hours.)

These courses are open to members and candidates, and those otherwise eligible. A series of courses for physicians, social workers, jurists, etc. is also being given, besides several popular lectures. All inquiries in regard to these courses are to be addressed to the Executive Director, Dr. M. A. Meyer, at 324 West 86th Street, New York City.

VIENNA TRAINING INSTITUTE

First Quarter, 1931–32

(*a*) *Lectures*

Dr. E. Hitschmann: The Theory of Dreams. (Five lectures.) (Attendance twenty.)

Dr. H. Hartmann: Introduction to psycho-analysis.[1] (Five lectures.) (Attendance fifty.)

Dr. R. Sterba: Theory of the Libido. (Five lectures.) (Attendance sixty-two.)

(*b*) *Seminars*

Dr. E. Bibring: Discussion of selected writings by Freud. (Every Friday.)

Dr. L. Jekels: Readings and discussion by the writings of Freud.[1] (Every Tuesday.)

Dr. E. Hitschmann: Seminar on psycho-analytic therapy. (At the Clinic of the Vienna Psycho-Analytical Society.) (Alternate Wednesdays.)

[1] For Members of the Society of Medical Psychology only.

Anna Freud: Seminar on the technique of child-analysis. (Every Monday.)

(*c*) *Study Circles*

Dr. E. Bibring: The psycho-analytical theory of character.

Dr. Ruth Mack-Brunswick: Psycho-Analysis of the psychoses.

Dr. Helene Deutsch: Collective control-analyses.

(*d*) *Pedagogy*

A. Aichhorn: Practical talks in Baby Homes, Day Nurseries and Orphanages, including discussions of special difficulties.

Dr. W. Hoffer: Seminars for teachers.